173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have ● [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

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*Mich-o-a-ca'n.

At one place they split up; at another they sacrificed three individuals, according to the prescribed ritual of opening up the stomach and tearing out the heart; and at a third place they learned how to make pulque. 175 [782]

Their records make little reference to the tribes already in the Valley, and their own entrance was relatively unnoticed by the others. 175 648 ● However, the hieroglyph of Tezozomoc in one manuscript suggests the obvious conclusion that they had to have Tepanec permission to pass through Azcapotzalco and settle at Chapultepec, where the beautiful park now is. Here they remained happily for nearly a generation. Their neighbors seem to have been small but growing communities, so that conflict was inevitable. The Tenochcas began the strife because their young men went up the lake to Tenayuca to raid and steal wives, a common North American Indian method of gaining prestige. [583] Their more powerful neighbors became irritated and made up a punitive expedition in which Tepanecs, Culhuas and Xochimilcas took part. The result was horrid: the Tenochca chief Huitzilhuitl* and most of the tribe had to go to Culhuacan territory to dwell in serfdom, while the rest escaped to the lake where some low-lying islands offered refuge. The main body stayed in Tizapan,† near the present San Angel, where they were under the eye of Coxcox,‡ the chief of Culhuacan. The Tenochcas detested the waste which was barren in all except poisonous snakes and insects. Huitzilopochtli they still enshrined, but his worth had sunk so low that the Culhuas came to mock him at his shrine and toss nameless filth into the temple.*

Finally, however, the tide turned. Coxcox became involved in a war with Xochimilco and called upon his vassals to aid him. When the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

*Wee-tze'el-weetl. †Tee-za-pa'n. ‡Cosh-cosh.

when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle
175 they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty pris-
[304] oners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their
obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the
175 battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces
727 in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas
who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their
lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why
each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas
being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears,
proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly
[721] the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for
the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

175 So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

have become an entity in 1325, and Tlaltelolco,* which was 175
founded about the same time. They both were havens for
malcontents from the mainland, and about the middle of
the century each was large enough to petition the mainland
tribes for a chief to found a dynasty. Tlaltelolco received
a leader from the Tepanecs, and the Tenochcas again
induced Culhuacan to provide them with a chief, Acamapichtli.†
The accounts vary as to whether or not he arrived
as a lad accompanied by his mother. The *Annals of Cuauhtitlan*
mention that at this time the Tenochcas were erecting
houses of stone, an indication that a community had to reach
a definite stage of development before enjoying the prestige
of an important lineage.[4]

In the time of Acamapichtli the Tenochcas were tributaries 175
and allies of the Tepanec and fought successfully 648 ●
against Tenayuca and Culhuacan. Yet their field of operations
was minute, and a morning's automobile ride will
enable the curious to see the whole scene of Tenochcan history.
Huitzilhuitl II succeeded Acamapichtli at his death and
prudently ensured the future of the nascent state by marrying
the daughter of Tezozomoc. He was chief during the
final struggle between the two great lake powers, the Tepanecs
and the Texcocans, a war which ended in the death
of the Texcocan chief, Ixtlilxochitl, and the dispersal of his
fiefs.

Chimalpopoca‡ succeeded his half brother Huitzilhuitl, 175
and his reign was fraught with disaster. Tezozomoc died,
and his son Maxtla succeeded him at the cost of murdering a
brother. Maxtla was frankly out for power and kept the city-

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*Tlal-tel-o'l-co.

†Ah-cam-a-pe'ech-tli.

‡Chee-mal-po-po'-ca.

[text continues on p. 97]

His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenoch- 175
titlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she [684]
was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[11]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahual- 175
pilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had 778
previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most 532
important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This mon- [782]
strous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[12]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first 175
task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, [648] ●
in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims 796
played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

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*Ah'-weet-zotl.

585 at last a feast, liberally lubricated with pulque, took place.
[834] The bride and the groom, after this merciless treatment, retired for four days of penance and fasting, and not until that
period elapsed did they consummate their marriage.

595 As is often the case in a warrior nation which suffers from
586 reduced man power, polygamy was prevalent. Yet the first
wife took precedence over the others, and her children alone
had the right to inherit. Concubines were permitted and
there was, likewise, prostitution. Desertion was frowned
upon, but a court would grant a decree of divorce under certain conditions. A man could obtain the right to cast out his
wife if she were sterile, were subject to prolonged ill temper
or neglected the household duty. The wife could be freed
from a husband who failed to support her or educate the
children or who ill-treated her in the physical sense, for the
[587] Aztecs had not invented mental cruelty. A divorced woman
could remarry as she chose, but a widow had to marry a
brother of her deceased husband or one of his clansmen.[8]

562 Women had definite rights, but they were inferior to those
of men. They could hold property, enter into contracts and
go to courts to obtain justice. In matters of sexual morality
[834] girls had to be chaste and wives faithful to their husbands. A
[837] man transgressed the rules of propriety only when his illicit
relations involved a married woman. Otherwise his wife could
not formally demand his fidelity. While the legal position of
women was relatively low, judged by modern standards in
the United States, personal influence was great, and there
were several instances where a woman acted as regent when
her son was too young to assume the office of chief. In matters of tribal alliance we have seen how the marriage of a
[648]
chief's daughter or sister to another ruler cemented an
alliance.

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the
canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined him-
self to four jades which he was able to exchange later and
which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds
and gathering me food."[10]

●648 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so
181 the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The
Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for
objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those sub-
stances most precious to themselves. Such misguided com-
pliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had
no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would
[325] they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold
was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which
could be made from it, and silver may have had an even
greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no
technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and
241 wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and
[567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work
466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic signifi-
cance they so little understood, and even more through the
enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to
corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of
beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of
the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*,
green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were
products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching
[439] the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with
southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pine-
apples to the Aztec larder.[12]

174 quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldly to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.[2]

651
648 The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

tion was the exaction of tribute from richer and weaker 651
neighbors. (See Plate 29, top row; Fig. 1.) Quinatzin of 648
Texcoco instituted the system first in the northern Valley in the early fourteenth century, and it is an interesting point to speculate as to whether or not the Chimalpanec immigrants suggested this as a practice found successful in their homeland. Quinatzin, by force of arms or by persuasion, induced a number of towns to turn over to him supplies of various sorts. The local chiefs recognized him as an overlord but maintained a complete political independence. He, in turn, granted the vassal chiefs the full measure of his military support. Yet these vassals had no sense of loyalty and were quite ready to revolt or transfer their allegiance to a stronger suzerain.[3] (See Plate 42, top.)

When Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco saw his tribe develop 648
to the point where it had to expand he found the southern Valley overpopulated, so that he had to challenge the power of Texcoco. His first move was to create disaffection in the vassal states, after which he could move against his rivals with good hope of military success. Yet so light was Tezozomoc's tenure of control that it was relatively easy for the conquered tribes to combine later and wreck his domination.

Alliances like that formed by Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tacuba were so very rare that much is made of this combination as an example of the excellence of Aztec statecraft. It would seem that the division of spoils, two parts each to the larger states, and one part to Tlacopan, was in force only for that campaign. Later Texcoco and Tenochtitlan undertook wars for their mutual advantage, but there was constant intrigue in the hope that one of the two could overcome the other and derive the full benefits of the booty taken. By the

● 648 mid-fifteenth century both Tenochtitlan and Texcoco had grown to the point where they had to have additional supplies or else starve, so, because of this common necessity, the alliance endured fairly well.[4]

186 Despite their common background of language, thought, religion, custom and material culture, the Aztecs had no sense of unity. Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco, both of which are within the city limits of modern Mexico, existed side by side in complete independence for many years; not until 1473 did the Tenochcas make up their minds to conquer their neighbors. Each town and hamlet was sufficient unto itself, and its members felt no larger loyalty. In modern Teotihuacan this feeling still persists, and the members of one *barrio*, or ward, look upon those of the adjacent one as a congregation of the most horrible criminals. Not even the Spanish siege of Mexico brought unity to the Aztecs, and the Texcocans blithely joined the invaders to exterminate their former ally Tenochtitlan.

648
439 Although community was potentially hostile to community, individuals could move freely about the countryside. Trade in simple commodities was carried on extensively from the early times of the Middle Cultures. In the Aztec period the traveling merchants became a special class, and their security of body and property, preserved at first for the advantages which each town could derive from their wares, was guaranteed by the force of Aztec arms. Pilgrims [788] going to worship at special shrines had free and unmolested passage; and a suggestion that such journeys were made in the distant past is given by the Middle Culture figurines of foreign origin. One site especially, Tetelpan, produced so great a variety of idols from such a wide area that it must

have been an important religious center in Middle Culture 648 439
times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the [788]
sense of communal and political independence in Central
Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have 648
seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. 721
The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went 727
to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, 775
named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun 782
and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

The triple alliance was a typical example of Aztec strategy. 648 Nezahualcoyotl wanted to restore the hegemony of Texcoco 723 and destroy Tezozomoc's Tepanec power, the center of which was Azcapotzalco. The two towns were separated by the Lake of Mexico. To move troops overland would have required several days; to move them across the lake in canoes would have meant having a landing base on the western shore. Nezahualcoyotl, therefore, induced Tlacopan and Tenochtitlan, which were at the back door of Azcapotzalco and tributary to it as well, to declare war. Thus he had a base at which to land his canoes filled with troops, and while his allies engaged the enemy strongly in this quarter, the Texcocan chief had time to bring reinforcements around the lakes by the overland route to attack another point.

The town of Chiconauhtla offers another example of these simple strategic ideas. This settlement dominated the straits through which the northern lakes of Zumpango and Xaltocan empty into Lake Texcoco. The people here could destroy any force in canoes moving east against Texcoco or west against Azcapotzalco. Their forces also could make a flank attack on land armies skirting the lakes against either of those two objectives. Early in the thirteenth century Chiconauhtla became a fief of Texcoco and participated, as a sort of guardian of the western marches, in campaigns against rebellious western tribes and in the great war with Tezozomoc. Later it seems to have become part of the Tenochtitlan chain of vassal towns, and its chief had the honor of sharing a royal apartment in Montezuma's palace with the rulers of far more important city-states. To confirm this documentary evidence excavation of the site reveals, in the quantity and quality of the material culture surviving, evidence of partici-

723 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size
●648 and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearn-
796 ing when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he
[775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

174 618 [684] life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

[illegible] 648 174 631 Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

174 361 Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

174 [361] 438 The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

000 a defense carried on with that courage found in forsaken men, in this case abandoned by their very gods. We have seen, in the bitter year of 1940, the same pattern repeated when France collapsed and England found a new strength in despair.

An examination of the Mexican social structure in relation to the psychological state of the Aztec mind shows that the Spaniards arrived at a time very favorable for conquest. Comparison of the Aztec military technique with the European discipline and armament of the day reveals an exceptional opportunity for the triumph of European tactics. To explain the familiar tale of the Conquest from the Indian point of view may throw into sharper relief this conflict between two systems of civilization.

726 Aztec war was highly ceremonial and fought in a spirit very different from the realistic calculation of European strife. The *technical* equipment of the Indians did not meet the requirements of a conflict waged in terms of European military *practice*. Moreover, Cortes arrived at the end of the summer, when the tribes of Mexico were too busy harvesting the crops essential for their survival to think seriously of military affairs. A final factor dooming the Aztecs to inevitable defeat was the political structure of Indian Mexico, which provided no way of converting military success to the establishment of a powerfully consolidated state.

642
● 648 The Aztec theocracy did not lend itself to governing or absorbing conquered peoples, although in time a social mechanism might have been developed. While the Aztecs received tribute from over a wide territory, there were constant revolts and betrayals. Probably this same process went on among the other tribal groups in Mexico, so that the politi-

cal organization of the region as a whole was far from that of 642
an empire. In reality a multitude of independent city-states 648
seethed with intrigue and war and were further disunited by differences in language, dialect, physical type and geographic economy. An invader, with a strongly disciplined force small enough to live off the country and thus to stay in the field, could have an astonishing success, particularly if he had a taste for intrigue. Cortes, as events proved, was the ideal man for such a purpose, and he was further favored by the psychological reaction of the Aztecs to his arrival.

The years before the Spanish Conquest had, to the Aztecs, 787
been full of portents suggestive of future evil. There seems to have been in the air that same sense of paralysis that the French knew to their cost in 1939 and 1940. Montezuma, the war chief of the Aztecs and an amateur of witchcraft, had had an experience calculated completely to shake his nerve. He and Nezahualpilli, the chief of Texcoco, had fallen to arguing about the respective merits of their soothsayers, since the Texcocan held that strangers were going to rule
the land of Anahuac. So convinced was Nezahualpilli of the [525]
correctness of his interpretation that he wagered his kingdom against three turkey cocks, the result to be decided by a ritualistic ball game with Montezuma. The latter won the first two games, but Nezahualpilli took the last three in a row. The defeat must have been disheartening to Montezuma, not only because he had so much to fear from the future, but also because his own experts had been held so cheap. (See Fig. 3.)

In close succession followed a series of phenomena, each bearing its message of woe to come. A column of fire was seen every midnight throughout the year; two temples were

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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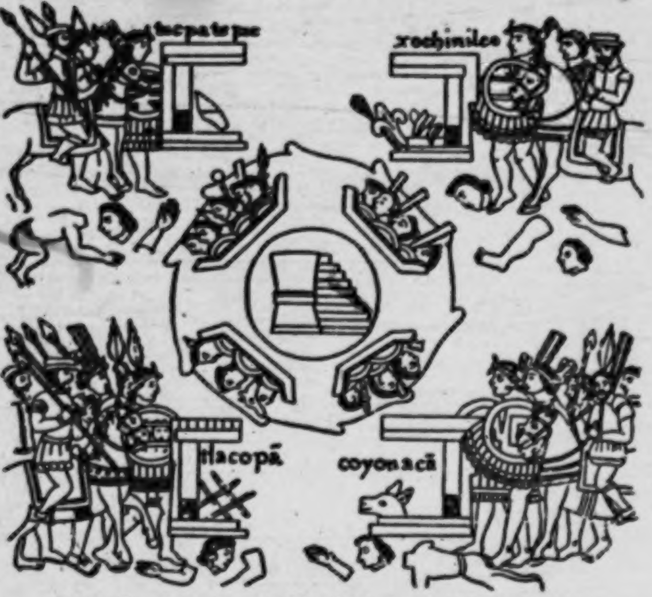

FIG. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlascala*

[726] In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

175 ●648 Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

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648
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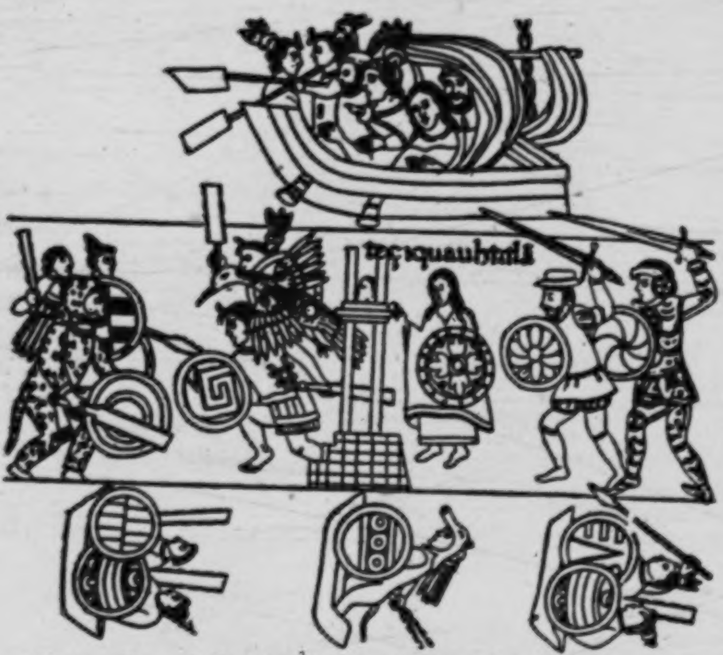

FIG. 21. Cortes built brigantines to defend his flanks while moving along the causeways into Tenochtitlan. In this picture a brigantine comes to the aid of Cortes and his allies, who are beset by Aztecs afoot and in canoes. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

of their success, resented the part Montezuma had taken in forcing the election of a war chief. When the Aztecs had had a strong chance of maintaining their supremacy after Cortes' retreat from Mexico the Texcocans valiantly took the field at Otumba. Now they switched to the Spanish side, seeing a chance of assuming a dominant position in Valley of Mexico affairs. Their defection gave the Spaniards a base on the Lake of Mexico and a means of mopping up whatever tribes remained unsubjugated in the previous campaign.

175 Having quieted the countryside, Cortes put into effect his plan of siege. He launched a fleet of small galleys armed with cannon, which had been constructed in Tlaxcala and

/175

[532]

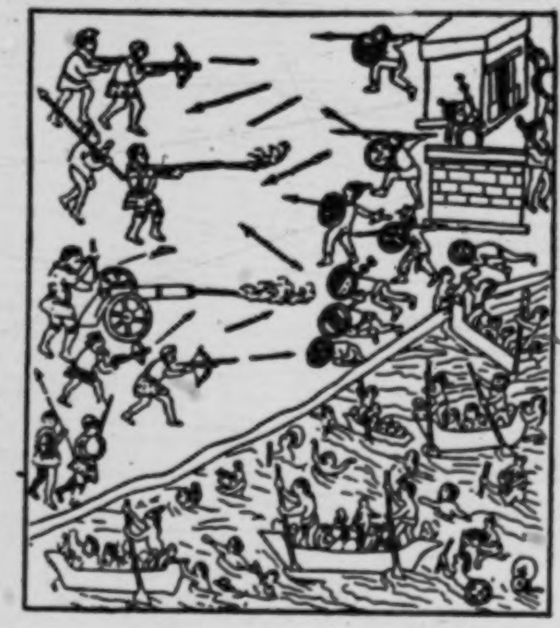

FIG. 24. The Spanish military problem was to raze enough of the city to permit the use of cavalry. The drawing at the right shows the gunboats taking part in an offensive with this end in view. *Codex Florentino*

Cortes decided to change his manner of campaign, and his solution, while reasonable to us, must have been little short of miraculous to the tribesmen. He sent the Indian allies forward to tear down all the houses they could find and fill the canals with the debris. When counterattacked, the allies retired, leaving room for the Spaniards on horse and foot to deal with the Aztecs. Each day the Spanish forces gained more room to maneuver and thus could count on recovering more ground on the morrow. The Aztecs, animated by a rare unity, fought desperately but without avail. (See Figs. 23–24.)

Toward the end of the siege an event occurred which /175 indicated to the now-desperate Aztecs hope of eventual release 648 in a common rising against the invaders. The people from the islands at the south of the lake, the Xochimilcas and

175 648 their neighbor tribesmen, filtered through the Spanish galleys by night and told the Aztecs that, as neighbors, they would make common cause against the whites. Overjoyed, Cuauhtemoc and his chiefs loaded them with ornaments, fine mantles and cacao-beans, precious for the favorite drink of the Aztecs, chocolate. When night closed in again on the beleaguered city the Aztecs were startled by a great commotion. The new allies were trying to drag off the Aztec women and children as slaves. It is pleasant to record that this knavery received its just reward, and the Xochimilcas were all either slaughtered or disposed of in sacrifice.[7]

175 Only when its members were too weak to resist and could

[532]

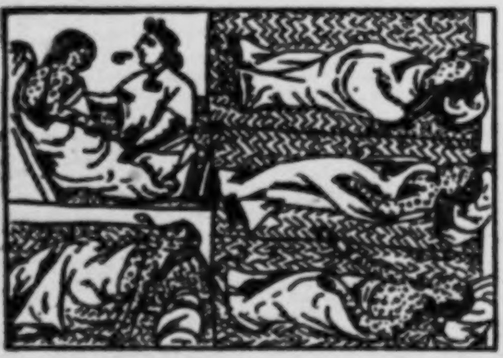

Fig. 25. Pestilence was a formidable ally on the Spanish side. Colds, smallpox, measles, and the like, were unknown to the Indians who, lacking any sort of immunity, died by the thousands. *Codex Florentino*

[532]

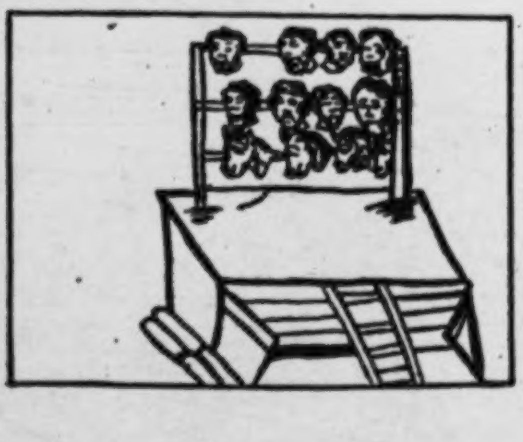

Fig. 26. A factor in the downfall of the Aztecs was their custom of taking captives for sacrifice rather than to kill in direct battle. The heads of the sacrificed victims, both men and horses, were displayed in front of the temples. *Codex Florentino*

"He is as my beloved father." And yet he might eat of someone else's captive.

And the captor kept the [captive's] skin for himself; he lent it to others. For twenty days the skin was carried by one person and another, worn for the entire feast. He who wore it gave everything given him, all that he had collected, to the captor. Afterwards [the captor] divided up [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the gladiatorial sacrifice victims, then there was a dance and a procession about the round sacrificial stone, by all the impersonators [of the gods] and those who had fought the victims, all going ceremonially arrayed. In this way did they who did the slaying end [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, a sacrificial victim, and therewith danced. This was called "the dance with severed heads."

And the old wolf man grasped the rope [which had fastened the captives to the offering-stone] and raised it [as an offering] to the four directions. He went weeping and howling, like one bereaved; he wept for those who had suffered and died.

And also from the warring cities, from beyond [the mountains], those with whom there was war, were summoned, in secret, and came within, in secret, as Moctezuma's guests, the Nonoalca, the Cozcateca, the Cempoalteca, the Mecateca. [These ceremonies] were shown to them, and they were confounded. For thus they were undone and disunited.[24]

And when this feast was celebrated, it was when *tortillas* of uncooked maize were eaten.[25] Those who witnessed the ceremony carried *tortillas* of uncooked maize with them, when they went to look on, and they were eaten there.

And upon the next day, the third day of the feast, then began the bringing out [of the skins]. It was very late at night that it began at the great palace. The Tlatelulca began it, and ended it at the time of eating. These the priests replaced, adorned and dancing in a variety of different arrays, with butterfly nets and fish banners; with clusters of ears of

796x

quitoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, quitoa ca notatzin: auh tel tepal quijquaia intemal.

[266]

Auh yn ieoaio qujmopialtiaia in tlamanj, qujtetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlacoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaqujlo cemjlhujtl: yn aqujn onmaquja in quexqujch maco, in quexqujch qujnechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan qujtexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic qujtlaiecultia yn ieoauh.

[431]

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, qujiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn ixqujchtin teixiptlati, yn otlaooaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn jntzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia.

796x
535

Auh in cujtlachueue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj, iuhqujn mjccaoati, qujnchoqujlia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque.

796x

Auh no iehoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, qujmonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cozcateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamaujçoltiloia: njman ic xitinooa, necacaoalo.

796x
648

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, vilocpalli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjtiac ietiuh, vmpa qujqquaquatoque.

[262]

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'qujxtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: qujpeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlequalizpan qujoalcaoaia: njman qujmonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynjc mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapã tlatqujtl, papalomatlatl, michpaujtl, ocholli, tzócoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xone-

796x
301

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[24] Durán (op. cit., pp. 175-80) says that Moctezuma I invited "*los señores de todo lo rodeado*"—Tezcuco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Matlatzinco, the Mazahuaques, and as many more as possible. "*Los señores de las provincias y ciudades,*" he continues, "*admirados y asombrados de semejante sacrificio, partiéronse para sus provincias y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . dexó espantados á los forasteros. . . . Desde entonces todos los de las provincias y ciudades comarcanas dexaron de tener rencillas ni contiendas con los mexicanos, viendo quán atrevidos eran y cómo trataban á sus enemigos.*"

[25] *Uilocpalli*: "*tortillas, como empanadillas, que hacían de maíz sin cocer,*" according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (op. cit., p. 74, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of [illegible]—"das '*Brot in Gestalt eines Armbandes*'. . . . *Es war ein Gebäck in Ringform, das aus ungegohrenen, zerstampften Maiskörnern, also aus Maismehl, nicht aus Maismasse, hergestellt wurde.*"

x 796 who were called Tlaloca. And this was done once
346 yearly.

x 796

Macuilcalli, and Macuilquiauitl.

346 Here, in this place, here died the informers, those
687 who imparted secrets which they had discovered to
648 those who were not dwellers here—the Tlaxcalteca, or the Uexotzinca, or the Cholulteca, who entered the fortifications here in Mexico; who bore information hence.

And if they escaped, if they went forth taking information, these Tlaxcalteca, or Uexotzinca, or Cholulteca, and all who had entered the fortfications then would emplace [themselves], and thus wait [in ambush] for the Mexicans. And when the Mexicans came there, great numbers would die at that place.

And if [the informers] were noted here in Mexico, then [the Mexicans] laid hands upon them and slew them, hacking them limb from limb, here at Macuilcalli or Macuilquiauitl.

Teccizcalli.

796 Teccizcalli: here Moctezuma himself did penances
346 and offered incense. And here dues were paid [to the gods]. And fasts were observed at the time of the great feasts. And then were slain, and died, the captives.

Poiauhtlan.

Poiauhtlan: here fasted Mexico's fire priest and the fire priest of [the Temple of] Tlalocan, once yearly, at [the feast of] Etzalqualiztli. They offered incense at Poiauhtlan. And here were slain, and died, the captives.

The Skull Frame[8] of Mixcoapan.

The Skull Frame of Mixcoapan: here they strung up the severed heads of those who died in the Temple of Mixcoatl.[9]

tlatlaloque. Auh injn cexiuhtica in muchiuhtivia ipan

Macujlcalli, ioan macujlqujavitl.

In vncan yn, vncan mjquja in tetlanenque: in qujmjlhujaia tetzauhtlatoque, in amo njcan chaneque, in tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, in valiaucalaquja njcan mexico: in qujvalcuja tlatolli.

Auh intla ovelqujzque, intla oconcujco tlatolli, in iehoantin tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço cholelteca, yoan in ye ixqujch valiaucalaquja: njman ic tlateca, injc qujnchia mexica: auh in jquac onvi mexica, cenca mjiec in vmpa ommjquja.

Auh intla oittoque njcan mexico: njman qujntzitzqujaia, ioan qujnmjctiaia, qujntetequja: in vncan macujlcali, anoço macujlqujavitl.

Teccizcalli.

In teccizcalli: vncan tlamaceoaia in iehoatl motecuçuma, vncan tlenamacaia: ioan vncan moztlavaia. Auh çan iquac in vncan moçauaia, in vevey ilhujtl qujçaia: yoan vncan mjcovaia, vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Poiauhtlan.

In poiauhtlan: vncan moçauaya in mexico tlenamacac, ioan in tlalocan tlenamacac: cexiuhtica, ipan in etzalqualiztli: nehoan vncan tletemaia in poiauhtlan: ioan vncan mjcovaia vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Mixcoapan tzumpantli.

In mjxcoapan tzumpantli: vncan qujçoia in jntzontecon, in mjquja mjxcoatempan.

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[8] Actually the severed heads were strung on the skull racks, and then allowed to decompose.
[9] Probably Mixcoatepan was intended for Mjxcoatempan.

X 796 346 it there at the Temple of Mixcoatl. And when they had offered incense, then they went to the priests' dwelling.

Tlillan Calmecac.

Tlillan Calmecac: here dwelt the priests of Ciuacoatl.

Mexico Calmecac.

Mexico Calmecac: here dwelt the priests who offered incense at the summit of the [pyramid] Temple of Tlalocan. [This they did] daily.

Coacalco.

● [648] Coacalco: here dwelt the gods of cities which, in all places which the Mexicans overran, they took captive. They then carried them back and shut them in here. And here they were guarded at Coacalco.

Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here he cast incense into the fire whose name was Yiopoch; and here blew his flute the demon whom they named Titlacauan. And when he had sounded [his flute], then he offered incense. And when he had cast incense, then he went in [to his dwelling]. Every day he did this, perchance by night, or [perchance] by day.

A Separate Quauhxicalco.

Quauhxicalco: here danced the impersonator [who was arrayed as a] squirrel. And here was erected that which was called the *xocotl*, which was only a tree. And they distributed its paper garlands and paper banners [with which the *xocotl* was bedight]. And they did this during the feast of Teotl eco, and also once a year.

Teccalco.

Teccalco: here were men cast into the fire; here they cast captives into the flames. Only during [the

teupan: auh in ontlenamacaque, njman ie ic huj in calmecac.

Tlillan calmecac.

In tlillan calmecac: vncan onoca, in jtepixcauh cihoacoatl.

Mexico calmecac.

In mexico calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamacazque, in ontlenamacaia tlalocan ijcpac: çan mumuztlae.

Cooacalco.

In cooacalco: vncan onoca in altepeteteu, in canjn ontepeoaia mexica, in qujmonacia: njman qujnvalvicaia, vncan qujncalaqujaia: ioan vncan pialoia in cooacalco.

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan tletemaia yn jtoca catca yiopuch, yoan vncan vallapitzaia in diablo: in qujtoaia titlacaoan: auh in ontlapitz, njman ye ic tletema: auh in ontleten, njman ic calaquj: çan mumuztlae iuh qujchioaia, aço iooan, anoço cemjlhujtl.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan mjtotiaia in techalotl yxiptla: yoan vncan moquetzaia, in mjtoaia: xocotl, çan quavitl, yoan qujtlamamacaia, yamanepan, yamapan. Auh ipan in teutleco muchioaia: no cexiuhtica.

Teccalco.

In teccalco, vnçan netlepantlaxoia: vncan qujntlepantlaçaia in mamaltin: çan no ipan in teutl eco

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Ihuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Tzonmolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yuã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca ciuatontli, no iehoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj. 796¹ 346

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquiça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan inquich tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma: [643 622] 535]

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Cooatlan.

In cooatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no iehoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Iopicalco, yoan eoacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan eoacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia: [648] [574]

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocozcatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie inquich tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia. [431]

De los Reyes

EIGHTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE GREAT RULERS AND NOBLEMEN AND OF THE WAY IN WHICH THEY OBSERVED THE ELECTIONS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

JNIC CHICUEI AMOXTLI INTECHPA TLATOA YN HUEHUEY TLATOQUE IOAN IN PIPILTI YOAN IN QUENIN QUIPIAIA TLAPEPENALIZTLI YN IPAN TLATOCAIOTL.

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648 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the rulers and governors who reigned in Mexico from the beginning of [their] rule until the year 1560.

The first ruler of Mexico.

Acamapichtli first made the beginning, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. There was peace and quiet; wars had not yet come in his reign.

The second ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Uitziliuitl was second, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. He began wars and conquered the people of Colhuacan.

The third ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Chimalpopoca was third. He ruled Tenochtitlan ten years.

The fourth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Itzcoatzin was fourth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. He conquered the people of Azcapotzalco and Xochimilco.

The fifth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma the Elder was fifth, and ruled Tenochtitlan thirty years. He conquered and made war on all the people of Chalco; and on Quauhnauac and on all who were subject to Quauhnauac; and on Maçauacan. And in his reign there came a great

Inic ce capitulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque ioan in gouernadores in otlatocatque mexico in iequichica ipeuhcan tlatocaiotl ioan in iequichica xihuitl de 1560.

Inic ce mexico tlatoani

Acamapichtli achto compeoalti tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oce iuian iocoxca in catca, aiatle iaoiotl ipan mochiuh.

Inic ome tenochtitlã tlatoanj.

Vitzilihuitl ic ome tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oçe iehoatl quipeoalti in iaoiotl, quinpeuh in colhoacan tlaca.

Ic ei tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Chimalpopoca ic ei tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl.

Ic naui tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Itzcoatzin ic naui tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl onnaui qujnpeuh in azcaputzalca ioan xuchmilca

Inic macuilli tenochtitlan tlatoani

Veue motecuçoma, ic macuilli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: cempoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiuitl, quipeuh qujiauchiuh in jxqujch chalcatl ioan quauhnaoac ioan in ixquich moquauhnaoacaitoa ioan maçaoacan, ioan ipan mochiuh in vei maianaliztli, nauhxiuitl ĩn

And in his reign there came a great
173 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
●648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Callixtlauacan, Ecatepec, Cuecaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxauałco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Tliłlatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcaatl, and Coaatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered those of Tziuhcoac, and Mollanco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

manca injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jxquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipã nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in ichoatl axaiaca, qujpeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, callixtlaoaca, hecatepec, cuecaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenãco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxaoalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Aujtzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itencopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujlteti oztotl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tlillatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, çoahatl, inma in coioacã ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl qujtztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in aiamo mjqui aujtzotl. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ie iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaioatimanca, nezque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oaltemozque in tzitzimime, tequazque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiutlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecuçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

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[1] *Inma in coioacã.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ȳ mani* for *inma*.

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Ciuacoatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iollotonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlaapan,[4] Nopalan, Iztac tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichinaltatacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

caxtolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maia- 175
naliztli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian [731]
tepan cenman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in maianaliztica.

Çã no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlael- [787]
napaloa, queuh veiah noqueztepole uel xomjtotia, atlã tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachizti in Españoles.

Çã no iehoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho[illegible]ia qujtoaia. Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no iehoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl 175
ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocoliztli, njman motocac 787
yitoalco ipan qujtemanque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac in cihoatl micquj mozcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in vncan motocaca tlatlatacco motlapo, auh in tetl ic motemanca vêca veuetzito: auh in iehoatl cihoatl in oiuh mozcali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in motecuçuma in tlein qujttac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca inic onjnozcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie ixqujch ca tehoatl moca tzonqujça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca tehoatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aqujque in ie uitze ca iehoantin tlalmaceoaqujuj, iehoantin onoque in mexico: auh in iehoatl mjcca çihoatl ie no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh iconeuh oquichtli:

Ioan miiec in altepetl qujpeuh motecuçuma in 175
jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlaoacan, çocollan, teco- 648
maixtlaoacã, çacatepec, tlachqujauhco, iollotonecuil- [103]
lan, atepec, mjctlan, tloapan, nopalan iztec tlalocan, cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichioaltatacalan.

Çan no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl 175
aciquiui españoles mottaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica 787
oalmoquetzaia cenca tomaoac in tlanextli iuhqujn tlemjiaoatl iceoal tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçaiampa oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalqujça tonatiuh,

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[2] The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.

[3] *Cuicac ce tepantla tecoc.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *uel pantli. Nepantla* is clearly an error.

[4] Tlaapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

175 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise.
787 For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

175 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards
646 came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

175 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

731 646 Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

175 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

646 797 Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac polihuh oc iuh nauhxiujtl açiquiui in españoles

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçique injc qujpeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancujc españa de mjll e qujnjentos y dezinueue.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cujtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhujtl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchiuh in oalla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in noujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej totomonaliztli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, qujtlacalhui in ixaiac: injc qujqujztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcque, ça muchi atlan qujmontlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca noujian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaiaxtimomã, injc hijaxque mjmjcque.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc iehoantin españoles qujpeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in noujian ic qujiaoalotoc ixquich altepetl. Icoac tlâtocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipilhoan Sanct frãcisco, in qujteçaoaltico tlateotoquiliztli: ioan qujtemachtique tlaneltoqujliztli.

Injc matlactlomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl iepan españoles noujian iauqujçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in iehoatl nonum de guzman, qujuicac in vej colhoacan vmpa mjqujto.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

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[5] *Ça muchi atlan.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ca* for *ça*.

[6] *Iepan: ye impan* in *ibid.*

The fourteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Diego Vanitl was fourteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

The fifteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Diego Teuetzquiti was fifteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for thirteen years. It came to pass in his time that a great sickness came to be prevalent, known as a plague. From people's noses, blood issued; there was much death everywhere because of it, and there was death from famine. Very many were buried every day, everywhere. And in his time it was that the Chichimeca—those of Xochipilla—and the people of Cibola were destroyed and conquered.

The sixteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Cristóbal Cecepatic was sixteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc matlactli onnauj tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don Diego vanjtl, ic matlactli onnauj tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

Injc castolli tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don Diego teuetzqujti, ic castolli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiujtl ipan exiujtl, ipan mochiuh inic momanaco vei cocoliztli mjtoa pestilencia teiacacpa quiz eztli cenca ic mjcoac in noujian ioan apizmjcoac tenca mjec in motocaia cemjlhujtl in noujiã. ioan ipan muchiuh injc poliuhque, peoaloque chichimeca, xochipilieca ioan Scipola tlaca. 731 [648] ●

Injc caxtolli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175

Don xp̃oual cecepatic, ic caxtolli oce, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

[p. 6 is blank]

175
648 **Second Chapter**, which telleth of the rulers who governed in Tlatilulco when the reign had not yet perished and when, later, once again the Spaniards gave back and restored [it] to them, until the year 1560.

The first ruler of Tlatilulco, Quaquapitzauac, who first began [the reign], governed Tlatilulco for sixty-two years. He conquered the people of Tenayuca, and Coacalco, and Xaltocan. When this one then ruled, two rulers of Tenochtitlan came together [one after the other], who were named Acamapichtli and Uitziliuitl.

The second ruler of Tlatilulco.

Tlacateotl [was] the second, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. It came to pass in his time that all the people of Acolhuacan and those of Coyoacan were conquered.

The third ruler of Tlatilulco.

Quauhtlatoa [was] the third, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. Two rulers, also, came together [one after the other], in Tenochtitlan. These [were] Itzcoatl and Moctezuma the Elder. It came to pass in his reign that the people of Azcapotzalco, and Coaixtlauacan, and Cuetlaxtlan, and Quauhtlinchan, and Xochimilco and all the people of Quauhnauac were destroyed and conquered.

The Fourth ruler of Tlatilulco.

Moquiuixtli [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco nine years. In his time the reign of Tlatilulco came to an end; for he and his brother-in-law, Axayacatl, ruler of Tenochtitlan, quarreled. [The latter] then made war upon Moquiuixtli and the people of Tlatilulco. And this Moquiuixtli of his own will quickly ascended to the summit of a [pyramid] temple, that he might cast himself from there; wherefore he then died. [762]

Don Pedro Temilo: when he was made ruler of Tlatilulco, he was the one who again started the

Inje vme capitulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque in otlatocatque tlatilulco, in aiamo poliuj tlatocaiotl, ioan in çatepan oc ceppa oqujnmacaque oqujncuepilique españoles in ixqujchica ipan xiujtl de 1560.

Injc ce tlatilulco tlatoanj Quaquappitzaoac achto compeoalti tlatocat in tlatilulco iepoalxiujtl omome, qujmpeuh in tenaiocan tlaca, ioan coacalco ioan xaltocan, in ichoatl, y, ic tlatocat qujnnamjcticatca vmentin tlatoque in tenochtitlan in omotenenhque Acamapichtli ioan vitziliujtl.

Injc vme tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Tlacateutl ic vme, tlatocat in tlatilulco, cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl omej, ipan muchiuh injc peoaloc inqujch aculhoacatl ioan coioacatl.

Injc ei tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Quauhtlatoa, ic ei tlatocat in tlatilulco cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolli omej xiujtl, qujnnamjcticatca no vmentin tlatoque catca in tenochtitlan, ichoatl itzcoatl, ioã veue motecuçuma. Ipan muchiuh injc poliuh.injc peoaloc, azcaputzalcatl ioan coaixtlaoacã, ioã cuetlaxtlan, ioan quauhtlinchan, ioan xochmjlco ioan in jxqujch quauhnaoacatl.

Injc nauj tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Moqujujxtli, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco: chicunauhxiujtl, ipã impoliuh tlatocaiotl tlatilulco, inic çan mococolique in jtex axaiaca tlatoanj tenochtitlan, injc qujiauchiuh moqujujxtli ioan tlatilulca. Auh in ichoatl moquiujxtli çan jnoma in tlecotiuetz iicpac teucalli injc vmpa oalmomaiauh injc vncan mjc.

Don pedro temjlo icoac omotlatocatlali in tlatilulco, ichoatl ic no compeoalti in tlatocaiotl, in oiuh

175 648 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Ciuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Azcapotzalco. And in his time it [231] happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

[731] Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth, and he ruled Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cíbola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh [731] to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

conaçique compeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vêca españoles injc tepeuhque in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martin hêca ic vme tlatocat in tlatilulco: exiujtl ic impan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çioacoatl qujqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa azcaputzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncã tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motetique tlatlazque, oontetl in quauhtetl qujtlazque icecentetl quauhtli.

Don Iuan avellittoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Iuan quaujc onoc, ic navj tlatocat in tlatilulco chicomxiujtl ioan icoac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlã, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamaujçolli vej neixcujtilli injc tlamjz cemanaoac

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco orjujtl.

Don Martin tlacateccatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocoliztli ioan in iaoiutl injc peoaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoça visorrej in njcan iancujc españa

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocoliztli, itoca quechpoçaoaliztli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in iehoatl matlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

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[1] For *manca no manca*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *manca no manque*.

[2] In *ibid.*, *xochipiltera*, *yuan tetzalan tlaca*, *yuan* follows *nochtlan tlaca*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Texcoco, and as many years as they governed.

The first ruler, who began the reign in Texcoco, was Tlaltecatzin. He ruled only eighty days, and nothing [of note] happened in his time. This one [was one of] the Chichimeca rulers.

And the second who became ruler, who followed Tlaltecatzin, was Techotlalatzin the Chichimeca. And he ruled seventy years; nor did anything [of note] occur in his time.

And the third who became ruler of Acolhuacan[1] was Ixtlilxochitl the Elder. He ruled for sixty-five years. [And] nothing [of note] befell in his time.

And the fourth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualcoyotzin. He ruled seventy-one years. And at this time, in the time of Neçaualcoyotzin, the war was begun. The two, [Neçaualcoyotzin and] the ruler of Tenochtitlan, Itzcoatzin, conquered the Tepaneca, and they conquered people everywhere. Thereafter this Neçaualcoyotzin founded and laid down the seat of authority[2] of Acolhuacan or Texcoco.

And the fifth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualpilli, and he ruled for fifty-three years. In his time war was made in all parts through which people were conquered. And when these two, Neçaualcoyotzin and Neçaualpilli, ruled, they were besieged by Tlaxcala and Uexotzinco.

And in the time of Neçaualpilli began what kept appearing, in the heavens, like a light, like a flame of

Injc ej capitulo vncan mjtoa in tezcuco tlatoque, 173
injc izqui xiuitl tlatocatque.

Injc ce tezcuco tlatoanj, Qujpeoalti in tlatocaiutl in tezcuco iehoatl in tlaltecatzin çan napoalilhujtl in tlatocat atle ipan muchiuh, chichimeca tlatoque, y.

Auh injc vme tlatoanj muchiuh, in qujoaltoqujli in tlaltecatzin iehoatl in techotlalatzin chichimecatl, auh in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

Auh injc ej, tlatoanj muchiuh acolhoacan iehoatl in veue ixtlilxochitl in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ioan macujlxiujtl amo tle ipan muchiuh.

Auh injc nauj tlatoanj muchiuh tezcuco iehoatl in 173
neçaoalcoiotzin in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlac- 648
xiujtl ioan cexiujtl, auh in iehoatl, y, in neçaoalcoiotzin ipan peuh in iaoiutl im omextin in tenochtitlan tlatoanj. Itzcoatzin inic qujpeuhque tepaneca: auh in noujian tepeuhque qujn iehoatl qujpeoalti in neçaoalcoiotzin in qujtecac in petlatl in jcpalli in acolhoacan tezcuco.

Auh injc macujlli, muchiuh tlatoanj tetzcuco, iehoatl in neçaoalpilli auh in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl vn matlactli ioã exiujtl in jpan muchiuh iauiutl in noujian ic tepeoaloia auh in iehoantin im omextin in neçaoalcoiotzin ioan neçaoalpilli in jcoac tlatocatque tzacuticatca in tlaxcalla ioan vexotzinco.

Auh in neçaoalpilli ipan peuh in tlein oalmoque- 173
quetzaia ilhujcatitech in iuhquj tlanextlj in iuhquj 787

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[1] The corresponding Spanish text reads: "señor de Tezcuco, o de Aculhuacan"; cf. also Charles E. Dibble: *Códice Xolotl* (México: Universidades de Utah y de México, 1951), Pls. III. The term Acolhua refers to a grouping held together by kinship and political alliance occupying territory east of Lake Texcoco, with Texcoco as its center. Their main competitors for dominance in the valley were the Tepaneca, centered at Azcapotzalco. On the Acolhua, see Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl: *Historia Chichimeca* (Mexico, 1892), pp. 41, 42, 49; also *Relaciones* (Mexico, 1891), p. 303. "*Y así partió las ciudades y pueblos que eran de su parte de los aculhuas, que son Tezcuco, Huexotla, Coatlichan.*" "*Coatlichan de los aculhuas*" is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 293; "*Al último de estos tres, que era Tzontecoma, mancebo de poca edad, Señor de los aculhuas, le dió á Coatlichan con otros muchos pueblos y lugares donde los suyos poblasen como los demás sus compañeros*" (*ibid.*, p. 289).

[2] *In petlatl, in icpalli*—the grass mat and the seat. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún uses the term *señorío*. The expression is illustrated thus figuratively in Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Rémi Siméon, ed.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), pp. 218, 221.

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173 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this
787 came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

175 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was
648 Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Coanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocoltzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Ixtlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[3] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauecuetzquititzin. He governed five years.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. He governed six years.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

tlemjiaoatl icioal tlanextitica, auh nauhxiujtl in ipan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancujcan necico auh impoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactloce tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiujtl mjiecan xiti tepetl in texcalli auh in icoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiujtl aciquiuj in Españoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaoalpilli aocmo ixpan

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiujtl. Iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, iehoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica im omextin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tecocoltzin in tlatocat cexiujtl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiauchichiuh injc qujmpeuh mexica.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in ixtlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicuexiujtl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica qujujcatiuja in marques itlan ommoquetz ioã qujuicaia in vej mollan iehoãtin imjxpan muchiuh injc vel motlatlali altepetl injc tlauellalali marques nehoan coanacuchtli.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in ioiontzin in tlatocat cexiujtl.

Injc matlactloçe tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tetlauecuetzqujtitzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in don Antonjo tlaujtoltzin in tlatocat chicoacexiujtl.

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

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[3] Cf. *Codex of 1576* (J. M. Aubin: *Histoire de la nation mexicaine. . . . Reproduction du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, Éditeurs, 1893]), p. 87, and *Mapa de Tepechpan*.

173 **Fourth Chapter**, in which are recorded the rulers of Uexotla.

Behold, the Chichimeca rulers of Uexotla were known as Acolhua. There the Acolhua Chichimeca first arrived.

The first who became ruler of Uexotla [was] Maçatzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-eight years.

The second ruler [was] Tochin tecutli. He ruled thirty-eight years.

The third ruler [was] Ayotzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-four years.

The fourth ruler [was] Quatlauice tecutli. He ruled fifty-five years.

173 648 The fifth ruler was named Totomochtzin; he ruled fifty-two years. And these five Chichimeca rulers, who maintained well the government [of Uexotla], exacted tribute from no one in the three hundred[1] years in which they [thus] maintained well their sovereignty.

The sixth ruler was named Iaotzin tecutli; he ruled fifty-eight years.[2] In his time the Acolhua Chichimeca began to exact tribute of [those of] Tepanoayan.

173 The seventh ruler was named Xilotzin tecutli. He ruled twenty-eight years.

The eighth ruler was named Itlacauhtzin. He ruled twenty-eight years.

The ninth ruler was named Tlaçolyaotzin; he ruled fifty-eight years.[3] At about this time it came

Injc nahuj capitulo vncan motenehoa in tlatoque vexotla.

Iacate in chichimeca tlatoque catca vexotla in motenenoa aculoaque in vmpa achto açico aculhoacan chichimeca.

Injc ce tlatoanj muchiuh uexotla Maçatzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

Injc vme tlatoanj tochin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

Injc ei tlatoanj aiotzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipã matlacxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl.

Injc nahuj tlatoanj quatlauiçe tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl.

Injc macujlli tlatoanj itoca totomochtzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiujtl ioan vnxiujtl auh in jmacujlixtin, y, chichimeca tlatoque in uel qujpiaia in jtlatocaio in acampa tequjtia caxtolpoalxiujtl in uel qujpix in jtlatocaio.

Injc chiquacen tlatoanj itoca iautzin tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ipan exiujtl iehoatl ipan peuh injc tequjtque tepanoaia chichimeca aculhoaque.

Injc chicome tlatoanj itoca xilotzin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

Injc chicuej tlatoanj itoca itlacauhtzin in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj itoca tlaçoliautzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl quj

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[1] In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* (*Primeros memoriales*, Chap. III), the Nahuatl text reads *caxtolpoalxiuitl ioan matlacxiuitl ioan exiuitl* (313 years).

[2] Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.

[3] Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.

Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50.*

In the year 1519, when the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, came to sally forth, very many boats came, in which the Spanish host traveled. And when Moctezuma knew of it, then he sent his emissaries, and they carried as greetings very many and costly articles.

And they thought that Quetzalcoatl had come. And when he went to arrive, then they gave and took all [which they carried] as greetings to this Captain, Don Hernando Cortés.

And when these Spaniards came to enter [the land], then the Tlaxcalans' Otomí[1] [warriors] went to meet them in battle. Not few, but very many thus fought and waged war with the Spaniards. And all of the Tlaxcalans' Otomí [warriors] died; the Spaniards slew them. By this were the Tlaxcalans much frightened, and these Tlaxcalans then sent messengers, [who] went to offer them food and all which they might need. And they welcomed them and escorted them to the homes of Tlaxcala.

And for a few days the Spaniards tarried and rested there. And the Spaniards then went there to Cholula. There they slew many Cholulans.

And after this, when Moctezuma had heard of it, he was much frightened; and all the people of Tenochtitlan were exceeding fearful. So once again he sent messengers. These whom this Moctezuma sent, lords and noblemen, went to meet the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés; they took with them a great deal of gold. And they went to meet him there between Popocatepetl and Iztac ciuatl, [at a place] named Itualco.[2] There they conferred [with Cortés; one of]

Injc chicome capitulo, vncan mjtoa mjiec tla- 175
mantli in itpan muchiuh in aiamo oalhuj españoles
in njcan tlalli ipan, in jxqujchica vnpoalxiujtl
ommatlactli.

In jpan xiujtl 1519 icoac qujçaco in capitan don 175
hernando cortes, cenca mjiec in acalli oalla in vncan
oalietiaque in españoles in iauqujzque: auh in oiuh 648
qujma in iehoatl motecuçuma, njman tlaihoaiaque
in jtitlanhoan, auh in qujtqujque in tetlapaloliztli
cenca mjiec, ioan cenca tlaçotli in tlatqujtl.

Auh momatque, ca iehoatl in quetzalcoatl oboalla: auh in jcoac oaçito njman mochi qujmamacaque in qujtqujque tetlapaloliztli, in iehoatl, capitan don hernando cortes.

Auh in jcoac ie calactiujtze, in iehoantin españoles: njman qujñaunamjqujto, in tlaxcalteca, imotonhoan: amo çan quezqujchtin, cenca mjiequjntin, ic oqujmjcalque, oqujniauchiuhque, in españoles. Auh mochintin, mjcque in tlaxcalteca imotonhoan, qujnmjctique, in españoles: ic cenca momauhtique, in tlaxcalteca, auh in iehoantin, in tlaxcalteca, njmã ic tlaihoaque, qujnmacato in tlaqualli, in jxqujch intech monequj: ioan qujnpaccatlapaloto: ioan qujnhujcaque, in vmpa inchan in tlaxcallan.

Auh çan quezqujlhujtl, in vncan motlalique, moçeujque, in iehoantin españoles. Auh in iehoantin, españoles njman iaque in vmpa chololan: vncan mjiequjntin, qujnmjctique, in chololteca.

Auh in jcoac, oiuh qujcac, in iehoatl motecuçuma,
cenca momauhti: ioã yn jxqujchtin, in tenochca
cenca momauhtique: ic oc ceppa tlaihoa, in iehoatl
motecuçuma iehoantin in qujmjhoa in tetecuti, in [202]
pipiltin, qujnamjqujto, in capitan, don hernando
cortes: cenca mjiec, in qujtqujque, in teucujtlatl. Auh
vncan in qujnamjqujto, in jtzalan popoca tepetl:
ioan in jztac tepetl, in motenehoa ithoalco. Vncan qujnonotzque, qujmacaque in jtlatol, in jta motecu-

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* Corresponding Spanish text: "*hasta el año de 50.*"

[1] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102; Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 474, n. 1, citing Tezozomoc, cap. 66. Cf. also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), IV, pp. 43ff., 149-150, n. 1.

See also Book XII, Chap. xi.

[2] Ithualco: in Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), it is described as a "*Mont qui domine à l'orient la vallée de Mexico.*"

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175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctezuma.

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

[731] And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

[797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

çuma: ioan qujmacaque in jxquich in jntetlapaloaia, injc tetech açia, in teucujtlatl, ioan oc cequj.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in iehoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoiauchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in qujnamjqujto in caltenco, in vmpa xolloco, çan qujpaccanamjqujto: ioan qujtlatlauhti, qujtlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman qujujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jxqujchtin españoles.

Auh in jquezqujlhujioc, in iehoatl capitan oqujlpi in motecuçuma:

auh in jcoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in iehoatl capitan oqujnnamjqujto, cequjntin qujnujcac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan qujcauhtia in don pedro aluarado, ioan oc cequjntin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

Auh in jquac in oquiz ilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in iehoatl don pº aluarado, ioan in espanoles in jtlan catca, mjiequjntin, qujnmjctique in mexica, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

Auh in jcoac in oalmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjiequjntin, qujnoalhujcac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca qujtototzaia in iaujutl.

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1520 icoac omjc in motecuçuma, auh in iehoantin españoles, oqujzque tlaxcallan iaque: auh vej cocoliztli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatioac: ioan cenca mjiequjntin mjcque, in njcan tlaca.

In jpan xiujtl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcuco, uecauhtica qujnjauchiuhque, qujmpeuhque, qujmjcalque, in mexica.

In jpan xiujtl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xitinca in jpampa iauiotl

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmomen sãct francisco padreme, in qujntlaneltoqujtique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

643 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did
644 they eat.

783 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler
785 and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time
[777] the lords entered their homes.

And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how
527 the ruler made summons to a feast.

648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

Auh iioaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in iehoantin teupixque papaoaque, qujntlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço ioalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiuitze, qujntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc ioaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixqujmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh ixqujlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacoaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no ixqujioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonqujxtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otzonqujz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in qienjn qujchioaia tecoanotzaliztli, in iehoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan chololfan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

of Uexotzinco,* and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, 643
ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxquichtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcaatenctli quijtztoque, ioan in jxquichtin
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, quijaoalotoque mexico, tetz- 648
coco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac oocenquijxque in jxquichtin tlacoanotzaltin tlatoque, in jcnihoan tlatoque ioan iiaohoan: njman ic quijntlaqualtia, quijomaca in atl, in tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, quijntlauhtia in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaçotlanquj chimalli, netotilo macoealo, cujco, ceioal cemjlhujtl, in tepaquijltia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no quijntlauhtia, in jxquichtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixquichtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
quichtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:

auh in otzonquiz tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic ompeoa in jxquichtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, 292
altepetl ipan.

Auh çan njman iquezquilhujoc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, injc cana iauqujzoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in 724:
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in
jxqujchtin tiacahoan, oqujchti: auh iioma in tlatoanj
in iauh iauc, in oniaoqujça, in ontepeoa qujujca in
jxqujchti iauqujxque, ioan in noujian tlatoque alte-
petl ipan inic oiaoqujça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac
ōtepeoato, oiaoqujçato cenca paquj, in quezqujch
malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli
qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujqujxtiaia. Auh in ix-
qujchtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmaujztiotia, mjiec
tlamãtli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotil-
matli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpiloni,
ioan qujntocamaca injc maujztililonque, injc tlaca-
machonque, injc oqujchti, tiacahoã.

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8. In ibid., [illegible] is followed by [illegible] and rulers of the [illegible] country.

[p. 66 is blank]

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648 **Second Chapter**, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniácatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They [643 proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer 29e] them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone—his very own.

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn 643] the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if] 576] kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Injc vme capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh qujtoa ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oittoque, in aqujque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acaltica ie onotinemj. Niman inoma ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixquj, q'nvicac oc cequjntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Iaotzin. Injc ei, Teuciniocan calpixquj: itoca Teuciniacatl. Injc navi ichoatl in cujtlalpitoc çan tetlan nenquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

çan oc iehoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan iuhqujnma qujntlanamaqujltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnmacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineixcavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in iaque injc qujmjttato, injc iuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiqujtlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjqujti, injc vel nelaoac qujmocaqujtiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

njman ie ic vi in atl itic ommacalaqujque, ommatoctique, qujntlanelhujque atlaca.

Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imjxpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

qujnoalnotzq̃ in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "criado de vno destos calpisques."

2. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Décima tercia relación de la venida de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 8, mentions Teuhtli, or Teuhtlile, *gobernador de Moctheuzoma, que era de Cotaxtla, o Cuetlachtlan,*" who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

3. *Annenca* (you live): possibly *tinenca* (we live) is intended.

4. Motecuçomatzin: reverential form of well-known Nahuatl names is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 182. Seler, op. cit., p. 457, translates the phrase thus: "*essen die Erde vor ihnen vorn am Kanu*."

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 643 292 648 Therefore they offered them all the various things which they bore with them; costly capes such as those which here are named: [the mantle] with the sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

500 And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tioallaque.

Qujnoalnanqujlique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujmonjlhujque. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic qujnmaca in jxqujtlamantli qujtqujque tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, ichoatl in, in njcã motenehoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tezcapocio:

in jxqujtlamãtli in in qujmõmacaque, qujnoalcuepcaiotilique, qujnoalmacaque cozcatl, xoxoctic, coztic: iuhqujnma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oqujttaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan qujnoalnaoatique: qujnoalilhujque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazq̃ tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca qujçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, cecejoal in oalnenenque, injc qujnonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jveliaca qujlhujco, qujcaqujtico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oqujcujto.

Auh njman ie ic qujnonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca izcatquj otiqujttaque, izcatquj oticchiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl ixco. Ca otiqujmjttato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jxqujch motilmatzin otiqujnmacato: auh izcatquj techmacaque intlatqujtzi. Qujtoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, izcatquj anqujmacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatiz:

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[6] Spanish text: *los españoles dieron a los Indios cuentas de vidrio, unas verdes y otras amarillas.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

[7] *Ibid.*: "en un dia, y en una noche."

[8] Seler, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible], has [illegible], translated "first of all."

773 verily he traveled there [to the east] when he went.
And [Moctezuma] sent five to go to receive him and
● 648 to offer him gifts. The leader was Teuoa [such
565 was] his lordly name; his name as a nobleman was
Yoalli ichan. The second was [the steward of] Tepoztlan; the third, of Tiçatlan; the fourth, of Ueuetlan; the fifth, of Ueicamecatlan.[6]

Teuoa, in jtecutoca, in jpiltoca Joalli ichan. Injc vme Tepuztecatl. Injc ei, tiçaoa. Injc navi vevetecatl. Injc macujlli Veicamecatl heca.

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[6] Cf. Seler, loc. cit., where these are given as men from towns. Veicamecatl here is interpreted as Ueicamecatlan.

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.' "

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoã hecaxonecujlli, quacolcic, iztac chalchiuitl injc 431
citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 776
301
292

Oca inqujtlamâtli in, in moteneoa teutlatqujtl in 431
intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tla- 301
mantli in qujtqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecciztli toztlapilollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc.

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichioalo. Auh 431
in omoteneulque macujltin; njman ie ic qujnnaoatia —
in Motecuçoma: qujmjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana 462
anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: —
xiqujlhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Mote- 202
cuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmomaqujlia, ca omaxitico in jchâtzinco mexico:

Auh in oacito atenco, qujmõpanavique, acaltica 505 qujmonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan oneoaq̃ acaltica qujnvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatoctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal.

njmã qujnoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa an- 648
oallaque?

njman iuh qujnnanqujlique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico:

oc ceppa qujnoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anqujpiquj, aço çã toca anmocacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic qujoaliacatzoçpinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic qujnoaltilinjque: njman no quioalquetzque ecaoaztli.

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[18] Ibid.: "la qual rodela estava bordada con plumas ricas en lo baxo de la rodella [sic] salia una vanda de plumas ricas."

[19] Ibid.: "un baculo labrado de mosayco de turquesas y en lo [illegible] de arriba puestas unas piedras ricas o perlas [illegible] en lo alto de arriba."

[20] Literally, white green stone. The term chalchiuitl, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

[21] Ibid.: "una mitra de oro hecha a manera de caracol marisco cõ unos rapacejos de plumas ricas que colgavan hazia las espaldas."

[22] Corresponding Spanish text: "una mitra llana."

[p. 14 is blank]

648 Fifth Chapter. Here is related what came to pass when the messengers of Moctezuma went aboard the boat of Don Hernando Cortés.

Thereupon they climbed up. They bore in their [576] arms the array [of the gods]. When they had proceeded to go up into the boat, each in his turn disposed himself to kiss the earth before the Captain. Having done so, they besought and said unto him:

"Let the god deign to hear: for his vassal, Moctezuma, who guardeth over Mexico for him, prayeth to him. For [so] he speaketh: 'The god hath suffered, he is weary [from travel].'"

Upon this, they adorned the Captain himself; they put on him the turquoise mosaic serpent mask; with it went the quetzal feather head fan; and with it went — in it they had set and with it went hanging — the green stone ear plugs in the form of serpents. And they clad him in the sleeveless jacket; they put the sleeveless jacket upon him. And they put the necklace upon him: the plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which lay the golden disc. With this they bound, on the small of his back, the mirror for the small of the back. Also with it they laid upon his back the cape named *tzitzilli*. And about [the calf of] his leg they placed the green stone band with the golden shells.[1] And they gave him, and placed upon his arm,[2] the shield with lines of gold and shells crossing, on whose [lower] rim went spread quetzal feathers and a quetzal feather flag. And before him they set the obsidian sandals.

And the other three sets of adornment, the array of the gods, they only laid in rows and placed in order before him.

And when this had been done, the Captain said to them: "Are these perchance all your gifts, your greetings?"

They answered: "This is all with which we came, O our lord."

Then the Captain commanded that they be bound. They fastened irons about their ankles and necks.

Injc macujlli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein muchiuh, in jquac ititlanoan motecuçoma in vmpa callacque in jacalco don hernando Cortes.

Niman ie ic tleco, qujnanapalotivi in tlatqujtl: in otlecoto acalco ceceniaca ontlalquatimanj yixpan in capitan: Niman ie ic contlatlauhtia: qujlhujque:

Ma qujmocaqujlti in teutl: ca qujoalmotlatlauhtilia in jtechiuhcauh Motecuçoma in cõmotlapielilia mexico; ca conjtoa. Oqujmjhiovilti, oqujmociavilti in teutl:

njman ie ic qujchichioa in capitan vel iehoatl conaqujque in xiuhcoaxaiacatl, itech ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan itech ieietiuh, itech aactiuh, itech pipilcatiuh chalchiuhcoanacochtli: yoan conaqujque xicolli, conxicoltique, yoan concozcatique in chalchiuhcozcapetlatl nepantla mantiuh in teucujtlacomalli, ic conxillancujtlalpique in tezcacujtlapilli, no ic contzinapanque in tilmatli in jtoca tzitzilli, yoan icxic contlalilique in chalchiuhcuecuextli teucujtlacoiollo: yoan conmacaque imac cõmanjlique chimalli teucujtlatica nenepanjuhquj, yoan epnepanjuhcaio, quetzaltençouhtiuh quetzalpaniotiuh: yoan ixpã contemjlique itzcactli.

Auh in oc etlamantli nechichioalli, teutlatqujtl, çan ixpan contecpãque, convipanque:

auh in ie iuhquj, qujmjlhuj in capitã Cujx ie inqujch in, in amotenamjquja, in amotetochacia?

qujnnanqujlique ca ie inqujch injc tioallatiaque totecue.

Niman tlanaoati in capitan injc ilpiloque, tepoztli imjcxic qujntlalilique, yoan inquechtlan: in ie iuh-

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[1] Described earlier as a wrist ornament.

[2] The left arm, in the corresponding Spanish text.

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648 This done, then they shot the great lombard gun. And the messengers then, verily, fainted and swooned. One by one, they fell to the deck; swaying, they went down, and knew no more. And the Spaniards lifted and raised them up so that they sat, and made them drink wine. Thereupon they served them food and made them eat, that they might catch their breath and revive.

And when this had come to pass, then the Captain said to them: "Hearken: I have known and heard it said that these Mexicans are very strong, exceeding brave, and great victors. Supposedly, one Mexican can pursue, overpower, conquer, and rout even ten, even twenty of his foes. And now I would satisfy my doubts. I would behold and test how strong and powerful you are."

Then he gave them leather shields, and iron swords, and iron lances.

"And this, early in the morning, at dawn, will come to pass: we shall fight and join the fray among ourselves, and try our strength among ourselves, [to see] who will fall."

They answered the Captain and said to him: "Let the lord hear: his vassal Moctezuma hath not thus commanded us [to act]. We have come to do only this one thing — to greet and salute [our lord]. It is not our charge [to do] what the lord requireth. For if we do so, Moctezuma would therefor be wroth, and might destroy us for it." [1]

Then the Captain said: "Nay, for it must be [as I say]. I wish to see and marvel [at your prowess]. For this is known in Castile; it is told that you are very powerful and valiant. Early in the morning shall ye eat. I also shall eat. [Then] verily shall you gird yourselves [for combat]."

quj njman ic qujtlazque in tomaoac tlequjqujztli: auh in titlanti in jquac in vel iolmjcque, yoan çoçotlaoaque, vehuetzque, nenecujliuhtivetzque, aocmo qujmatque: auh in españoles qujmeeuhq̃ qujmeeoatitlalique, qujmonjitique vino: njmã ie ic qujntlamaca, qujntlaquaitique, ic imjhio qujcujque, ic oalihiocujque:

auh in ie iuhquj in, njman qujmjlhuj in capitan. Tla xiccaqujcan, onjcma, onjccac, qujlmach in iehoantin mexica cenca chicaoaque, cenca tiacaoan, cenca maiavinj, intla ce mexicatl vel qujntocaz, vel qujntopeoaz, vel qujnpanaviz, vel qujnteputztiz in manel matlactin, in manel noço centecpantin in jiaovan. Auh in axcan noiollo pachiviznequj, namechittaznequj, namechicieecoznequj, in quenjn anchicaoaque, in quenjn antlapalivi:

njmã ic qujnoalmacac eoachimalli, yoan tepuzmacquavitl, yoã tepuztopilli:

auh inin vel oc iovatzinco, tla[illegible]calpan in muchioaz, in titomaiztlacozque, titoneneuhcavizque, tinevivican tlamatizque, ac ic tlanj vetziz:

qujnanqujlique in Capitan: qujlhujque. Tla qujmocaqujtin tlacatl, achcamo ic technaoati in jtechiuhcauh in Motecuçoma; ca çan tiqujxcavico in tictociauhquechilico, in tictotlapalhujco, ca amo tonaoatil in qujmonequjltia tlacatl: auh intla iuh ticchioazque, cujx amo cenca ic qualaniz in Motecuçoma, amo ic techtlatlatiz.

Niman qujto in capitan ca amo ca ça mochioaz njqujttaznequj, njcmaviçoznequj ca in omachiztito in castillan qujl cenca anchicaoaque, antiiacaoan, ma oc veca ioac in xitlaquacan, oc no ioan in njtlaquaz, ma vel ximochichioacã.

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[1] Cf. Garibay, op. cit., p. [illegible]; see also p. [illegible] ([illegible]).

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Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

Injc chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn iehoatl motecuçoma, qujmjoa in nanaoalti in tlatlacatecolo, in tetlachivianjme, injc itla impan qujchioazque in Españoles. 000

Niman iquac tlaioa in Motecuçoma in qujmjoa mocheoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanaoalti: yoan qujmjoa in achcacauhti, chicaoaque, in tiacaoa in jpan tlatozque in jxqujch intech monequjz in qualonj in totoli in totoltetl, in jztac tlaxcalli: yoã in tlein qujtlanjzque, yoan injc ça oc vel pachiviz in iniollo, vel qujmjttazque, qujmjoa in mamalti, ic monemachti, cujx qujizque in jmezço: auh iuh qujchiuhque in titlanti. 648 [741] 262 [727]

Auh in jquac oqujttaque: cenca motlaeltique, chichicha, ixtetenmotzoloa, ihicopi, motzontecôvivixoa: auh in tlaqualli eztica catzelhujque, queezvique, cenca invic eoac, qujntlaelti: ichica ca cenca xoqujiac in eztli. 000

Auh injc iuh qujchiuh motecuçoma, ca qujnteuma, teteu impan qujnma qujnteutocac: ic notzaloque, ic tocaiotiloque, teteu ilhujcac vitze: auh in tliltique teucacatzacti mjtoque,

qujn iehoatl qujqquaque iztac tlaxcalli, tlatzincujtl, totoltetl, totoli, auh in ie ixqujch xochiqualli, quauhtzaputl, teçontzaputl, atztzaputl, totolcujtlatzaputl, 262

1.- Garibay, in "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 170, refers to the "*'duplicación de la persona' o el 'desdoblamiento'*" in regard to nanaoalli. The term may be related etymologically to naui (4) — a quadruple personality, an archaic verb nanali, nanalo (to find or discover, as in magic tricks), or Maya-Quiché na, nao, naua (wisdom, science, magic). Garibay favors the second possibility (nanali, nanalo).

2. *Tlatlacatecolo*: concerning the term tlacatecolotlaca, Garibay refers to an *arte de hombre pernicioso*, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Robredo ed.), p. 33 — "*tiene pacto con el demonio*" (tlacatecolotl) (*ibid.*, p. 179). In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 309, he refers to tlacatecolotl as "*brujo*," "*mago*," "*hombre que perjudica a la gente, hombre pernicioso*"; "*pronosticador y procurador de muerte*." There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

3. *Tlaciuhqui*: we have previously used the term "soothsayer." In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), Garibay, noting that Molina translates the term as *astrólogo*, states: "*La raíz ciuh, parece denotar fenómenos meteorológicos*," and notes the relationship of the term to *teciuhtlazqui*, one who prevents hail from falling. He cites *La población del valle de Teotihuacán*, II, p. 404.

4. *Quauhtzapotl*: anona (*Annona cherimolia* Mill.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), I, p. 274; same as *zapotl* (generic name), according to Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — *Lucuma mammosa*, *L. bonplandii*, *Achras mammosa*, *A. sapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

5. *Tezontzapotl*: mamey (*Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn.), zapote colorado (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 733, n. 2, this explanation appears: "*Les premiers Espagnols d'Amérique confondirent* [with various zapotes] *le fruit beaucoup plus gros du tetontzapotl ou lucuma mammosa, de la famille des sapotes, qu'ils appellent aujourd'hui mamey. C'est probablement le même fruit que les Aztèques connaissaient sous le nom de tezontzapotl.*" See also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

6. *Atztzapotl*: probably the same as *azapotl*. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 267-268, this is *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth. It is also identified by Santamaría, *loc. cit.*, as *Lucuma salicifolia* — [illegible] *zapotl* or *zapotillo*. In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 334, it is identified as *zapote amarillo* — *Sargentia greggii* (rutáceas). The *atztzapotl* (yellow sapota) is now generally known as *zapote borracho* (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

7. *Totolcuitlatzapotl*: *zapote prieto* (*Diospyros ebenaster* Retz — ebenáceas), in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

262 toes,[8] manihot,[9] white[10] and yellow[11] sweet potatoes, colored sweet potatoes, *jícamas*,[12] plums,[13] *jobos*,[14] guavas,[15] *guajilotes*,[16] avocados,[17] carob fruit,[18] *tejocotes*,[19] American cherries,[20] tuna cactus fruit,[21] mulberries,[22] white[23], yellow,[24] and whitish-red cactus fruit,[25] *pitahayas*,[26] water *pitahayas*.[27] And the food for the deer [was] *pipillo*[28] and *tlachicaztli*.

754 And it is told why Moctezuma sent magicians and
●648 soothsayers — that they might behold what kind [of men] they were, and that perchance they might bewitch and cast a spell over them. Perhaps they might blow them away, or enchant them. Mayhap they might cast something at them, or they might, with some words of the Evil One, utter an incantation over them, so that they might sicken and die, or else because of it turn back.

But these, when they performed their charge and commission upon the Spaniards, were at once powerless. Nothing could they do.

Then they quickly returned and came to tell Moctezuma what they were like and how strong they were: "We cannot contend against them; we are as nothing."

camotli, quauhcamotli, poxcauhcamotli xochicamotli, tlapalcamotli, xicama, maçaxocotl, atoiaxocotl, xalxocotl, in quauhxilotl, aoacatl, oaxi, texocotl, in capoli, in nochtli, in amacapuli, iztac nochtli, coznochtli, tlatocnochtli, tzaponochtli, anochtli: auh in maçatlaqualli, pipillo, tlachicaztli:

Auh qujl injc qujmjoa Motecuçoma in nanaoalti, in tlaciuhque, injc qujmjttazque in quenamjque in aço vel qujntlacateculovizque, qujntlachivizque, in aço vel qujmjpitzazque qujnxoxazque in aço oc itla ic qujnmotlazque, in aço itla tlacateculotlatolli, ic qujntlanonochilizque, injc aço cocoliztcujzque, mjmjqujzque, in anoce ic ilotizque.

Auh in iehoantin in qujchiuhque in intequjuh, in innaoatil in intechpa españoles, çan njmã avelitque, atle vel qujchiuhque:

niman ic oalmocueptivetzque qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma injc iuhque, injc chicaoaque, amo titenamjcoan, iuhqujn atitleme:

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[8] *Camotli*: sweet potato, *batata* (*Ipomoea batatas* Poir., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521; *I. batatas* Lam., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

[9] *Quauhcamotli*: *guacamote* or *camote* (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.—*euforbiáceas*) in *ibid.*, p. 334; *yuca* in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 36, and in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521 (*M. aesculentus* Crantz).

[10] *Poxcauhcamotli*: probably sweet potato of white skin and interior, Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521).

[11] *Xochicamotli*: reddish or yellow sweet potato (*loc. cit.*).

[12] *Xicama* (*jícama*): in *ibid.*, II, p. 522, *Pachyrhizus angulatus* Rich.; *P. palmatilobus* H. B. K. in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[13] *Maçaxocotl*: plum—*Spondias* sp. (*anacardiáceas*) (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

[14] *Atoyaxocotl*: *Spondias lutea* L. (*anacardiáceas loc. cit.*). *Jobo* (*Spondias mombin*, or *S. lutea*, or *purpurea*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153, 155. See also Sahagún (Jourdanet and Siméon tr.), p. 734, n. 6.

[15] *Xalxocotl*: *Psidium pomiferum* L. (*mirtáceas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 335; guava.

[16] *Quauhxilotl* (*guajilote*): *Parmentiera edulis* D.C., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; *Bombax palmeri* S. Wats. according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[17] *Aoacatl* (*ahuacate*, avocado): *Laurus persea* in Sahagún (Jourdanet and Siméon tr.), p. 734, n. 1.

[18] *Oaxin* (*guaje*): *Leucaena esculenta* Benth. (*leguminosas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 335.

[19] *Texocotl* (*tejocote*): *Crataegus mexicana* Moc. & Sess., in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150.

[20] *Capoli* (*cereza indígena*): *Prunus capuli* Cav. (*rosáceas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 334.

[21] *Nochtli*: *Nopal opuntia*, in *op. cit.*, p. 335.

[22] *Amacapuli*: *moral indio* (*Chlorophora tinctoria* Gaud.; var. *mexicana*), in *loc. cit.* Black mulberry or blackberry in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

[23] *Iztac nochtli*: white cactus fruit (*Opuntia* sp.), in Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 934, 936; *tuna blanca* (cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 230).

[24] *Coznochtli*: [illegible] (*Opuntia pseudo-tuna* Salm. Dyck; *cactáceas*), in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335. *Tuna amarilla*—cf. Santamaría, *loc. cit.* *Opuntia* sp. of yellow fruit in Hernández, *loc. cit.*

[25] *Tlatocnochtli*: "*tuna blanca tirando a bermejo*"; *Opuntia* sp., in *loc. cit.*

[26] *Tzaponochtli* ([illegible], *pitahaya*—Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 314).

[27] *Anochtli*: possibly *tuna de agua*, *pitahaya del agua* (*Pereskiopsis aquosa* Britt & Rose); cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 229.

[28] *Pipillo*: possibly [illegible] Pk.; cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 495.

Then Moctezuma commanded sternly, charged, enjoined, and ordered on pain of death, that the stewards and all the noblemen and constables should see to it that [the Spaniards] be cared for in all that they might need.

And when [the Spaniards] had crossed over to the land, when finally they came, when already they moved, proceeded, and marched ahead, they were well cared for; they were honored. They passed from hand to hand as they took their way. Much was done for them.

niman ic tetlaquauhnaoati in Motecuçoma, vel quijncocolti, vel quijntenjzti, quijnmjquijznaoati in calpixque: auh in jxqujch in tecutli, in achcauhtli in quijttazque, in quijmocujtlavizque in jxqujch intech monequjz. 648

Auh in ovallalhoacaquijxque iuqujne ic vitze: in ie oalolinjzque, in ie oalolinj, in ie oalotlatoca, cenca necujtlaviloque, mavizmachoque, çan temac in oallatiaque, in oalotlatocaque, cenca inca nechicoaloc.

[P. 24 is blank]

Tenth Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came — when already they had come and were making their way forward — first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoac,[1] on land of the people of Tlaxcalla, there dwelt their [subject] Otomí. And the Otomí met them in battle; with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.[2]

And when [the region of] Tecoac had perished, those of Tlaxcalla — when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told — could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time — in but the flutter of an eyelid —

Inje matlactli Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles çan jvian, oallalhoaccaqujzque, oallotlatocatiaque yoã in quenjn Motecuçoma qujcauh in vei tecpan, vmpa ia in jpilchan.

Niman qujoallalcavi in jvevechan in vei tecpan, 342
vncan oallamattia, vncan oallama, qujoalma, qujoaltocac in jpilchan in iehoatl Motecuçoma.

Auh in iequene vitze, in ie vitze, in ie ovalmoli- 648
njque: ce tlacatl, cempoaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl,
no achto canaco; in jquac qujttato tlalli, in altepetl,
no oalnaoatlatotia, q'noaloquechilitia, qujnoalotlaxi-
litia, qujnoallaixtlatitia, qujnoaliacan, qujnoaliacan- [191]
tia.

Auh in oacico Tecoac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan onoque imotonoan. Auh in otomj iautica qujnnamjcque, chimaltica qujnnamjcque: auh in otomj in Tecoaca vel qujmjxtlatique, vel ixpoliuhque, qujnxixilque, texixilioac, qujntlequjqujzvique, qujntepuzmjvique, qujntlavitolhujque, amo çan quexqujchtin, vel ixachintin, in jxpoliuhque.

Auh in ontlalpoliuh tecoac, in tlaxcalteca in oconcacque in ocõmatque, in oqujlhujloto, cenca mauhcaçonecque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in maviztli, mavizcujque:

njmã mocentlalique mononotzque, motecuiono- 635
notzque, motlatocanonotzque, qujmoottitique in tla- 648
tolli:

qujtoque. Quen toiezque, cujx tiqujnnamjqujzque: ca vei oqujchtli vei tiacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oqujttac, atle ipan oconjttac, çan ixqujch cavitontli in çan ixpeioctli in oconpopolo macoalli. Auh in axcan ma çan itlan toncalaqujcã, ma çan tictoc-

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1. Tecoac: today [illegible], in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilar, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porrua e Hijos, Sucs., 1954), pp. [illegible]. Reference to [illegible] contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilar, Díaz, Cervantes, Cortés, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points [illegible] in the *Florentine Codex* and other Aztec accounts.

635 they destroyed the vassals. So now let us submit to
648 them; let us befriend them; let us make friends of the foe. [For] the common folk suffer."

648 And thereupon the rulers of Tlaxcalla went to meet them. They took them food—birds, eggs, white tortillas, fresh tortillas.

They said to them: "Ye have labored, O our lords."

[These] answered them: "Where is your home? Whence come ye?"

They said: "We are people of Tlaxcalla. You have tired yourselves. You have come to and reached the land [which is] your poor home, Quauhtlaxcalla."

(But in ancient times it was named Texcalla, and the common folk were called Texcallans.)[3]

njuhtican, ma çan titocnjuhtlacan, motolinja in maceoalli.

Auh njma ie ic vi in qujnamjqujaque in tlaxcalteca tlatoque: qujtqujque in tlaqualli, in totoli, in totoltetl in jztac tlaxcalli, in chipaoac tlaxcalli: qujmjlhujque. Oanqujmjhiovi1tique totecujoane:

qujnoalnanqujlique. Cana mochan? Campa oanoallaque?

Conjtoque. Titlaxcalteca, oanqujmociaviltique, oanmaxitico, otlaltech anmaxitico in amochantzinco quauhtlaxcalla

(auh in ie vecauh motenecoaia Texcalla, in macehualti mjtoaia, texcalteca.)

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[3] The Spanish text says: "*La ciudad q agora se llama tlaxcalla, antes que viniessen los españoles se llamaua Texcalla.*"
Tlaxcalla did not exist as a composite urban center before the Conquest except for the four *barrios*—Quiahuiztlan, Ocotelulco, Tepeticpac, and Tizatlan—which made up the Republic of Tlaxcalla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told how the Spaniards came to and reached Tlaxcalla, which was [then] called Texcalla.[1]

They proceeded to guide them, to take and lead them, and thus leave and quarter them in their palace. They made much of them. They offered them whatsoever they needed, and cared for them. And then they offered them their maidens.

Then [the Spaniards] asked them: "Where is Mexico? What manner of place is it? Is it still distant?"

[The Tlaxcallans] answered them: "It is not far distant; it can be reached in perhaps but three days. It is a very good place. And [the Mexicans] are very powerful, very brave warriors, victors who go conquering everywhere."

And those of Tlaxcalla in times past had contended and risen in rage and hatred against the Cholullans, whom they detested and abhorred and with whom they would have no commerce. Wherefore they spoke evil of them, so that [the Spaniards] might attack them by treachery.

They said to them: "They are very wicked, and they are our foes. Those of Cholulla are as strong as the Mexicans. They are friends of the Mexicans."

When the Spaniards had heard this, they then went to Cholulla. Those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla accompanied them. They went in war array. When they arrived, thereupon there were shouting and calling out that all the noblemen should come forth — the rulers, leaders, and chieftains, and the common folk. The temple courtyard[2] was filled. And when all had assembled, then [the Spaniards and their allies] closed each of the entrances, wheresoever one entered.

Thereupon the people were fallen upon, slain, and beaten. Those of Cholulla had been caught unaware. With neither arrows nor shields did they meet the Spaniards. Just so, they were slain without warning. They were killed by pure treachery; they died unaware. For in truth the Tlaxcallans had incited [the Spaniards].[3]

Injc matlactli oce capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acico in vncã tlaxcalla: in mjtoa Texcalla. 648

Quinmõiacanato, quinoalhujcaque, quinoaliacantiaque, injc quimoncacauato, injc quincalaquito in intecpanchan, cenca quinmavizmatque, quinmacaque in intech monequj inca mochiuhq̃ yoan njman quinmacaque imjchpuchoan:

njman quintlatlanjque canjn Mexico, quenamj can? oc veca?

Quinnanquilique, ca aocmo veca, aço ça eilhujtl axioaloz, cenca qualcã, yoã cenca chicaoaque, cenca tiacaoã, tepeoanjme, novian tepeuhtinemj.

Auh in tlaxcalteca, ieppa mochalanjticatca, moqualancaitztiticatca, motlavelitztiticatca, mococoliticatca, aimelmottaia, acã vel monepanoaia in chololteca: Ipampa in quintenanaoatilique, injc quinpoiomjctizque:

quimjlhujque. Ca cenca tlaveliloc, ca toiaouh in chololtecatl iuhquin mexicatl ic chicaoac, ca icnjuh in mexicatl:

in oiuh quicacque in españoles: njmã ic vmpa iaque in chololla, quinvicaque in tlaxcalteca yoan in cempoalteca, moiaochichiuhtiaque: in oacito njmã ie ic tenotzalo, tetzatzililo, inquijchtin oallazque in pipilti, in tlatoque, in teiacana, in tiacaoan, yoan macehualti, neteuitoaltemaloc. Auh in ie ocenquiçque inquijchtin njman quioaltzatzacque in calacoaiã, in izquicampa calacoa,

njmã ie ic tetzotzonalo, temjctilo, teviviteco, atle inmollo ipan catca in Chololtecatl: amo mjtica amo chimaltica quinnamjcq̃ in Españoles, çan iuhquin ichtacamjctiloque, çan tlaixpoiomjctilti çan tlachtacamjctilti, ca nel çan quintenanaoatilique in tlaxcalteca.

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "que entonce se llamava texcalla."

[2] This was at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, according to the corresponding Spanish text.

[3] Cf., however, Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin: *Annales* (Rémi Siméon, ed.; Paris: Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc, 1889); the Septième Relation (p. 187) states: "*cenca miequintin quimmictique in Chololteca yn ipan quinnamiquito yn capitan general Hernando Cortes*" — they slew very many Cholulans when they met the Captain-general, Hernando Cortés, in battle.

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Twelfth Chapter. Here is told how Moctezuma sent a lord, a great nobleman, and still many other noblemen, in order that they go to meet the Spaniards; and that with which each gave salutations as they greeted the Captain between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl.

And Moctezuma thereupon sent and charged the noblemen, whom Tziuacpopocatzin led, and many others besides of his henchmen, to go to meet [Cortés] between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl, there in Quauhtechcac. They laid before them golden streamers, quetzal feather streamers, and golden necklaces.

And when they had given them the gift, they appeared to smile, to rejoice exceedingly, and to take great pleasure. Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if then they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs.

And they went about moving the golden streamer back and forth, and showed it to one another, all the while babbling; what they said was gibberish.

And when they saw Tziuacpopocatzin, they said: "Is this one perchance Moctezuma?" They spoke to those who came with them, their spies, those of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla. Thus in secret they questioned them. [These] said: "Not this one, O our Lords." This one was Tziuacpopocatzin, who was appearing in place of Moctezuma.

[The Spaniards] said to him: "Art thou perchance Moctezuma?" He replied: "I am your henchman; I am Moctezuma."

And these said to him: "Go thou hence. Why dost thou lie to us? Whom dost thou take us to be? Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces. Thou art not he. Now Moctezuma cannot hide from us. He cannot take refuge. Where can he go? [Is he] perchance a bird that he can fly? Or can he set out on his way under the earth? Is

Injc matlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, qujoa ce tlacatl vei pilli: yoã oc cequjntin mjequjntin pipilti in qujnnamjqujto Españoles: yoan in tlein ic tlatlapaloque, injc qujtlapaloque Capitan, in jtzalan iztactepetl, yoan popocatepetl. 6 48
728

Auh in Motecuçoma: njmã ie ic qujmonjoa, qujmonjxquetza in pipilti, qujniacana in tzioacpopocatzin, yoan oc ceq'ntin cenca mjequjntin itechiuhcaoan cõnamjqujto, intzalan in popocatepetl, yoan iztactepetl, vncan in quauhtechcac, qujmõmacaque teucujtlapanjtl, quetzalpanjtl, yoã teucujtlacozcatl. [43
30]

Auh in oqujmõmacaque iuhqujn yixvetzca, cenca papaquj, ahavia, iuhqujn ooçomatzitzquja in teucujtlatl, iuhqujn vncan motlatlalia, iuhqujn iiztaia, iuhq'n cecelia yiollo: ca nel iehoatl in cenca camjquj, qujpoçaoa, qujteucivi, qujpitzonequj in teucujtlatl.

Auh in teucujtlapanjtl qujhiiauhtivitze, qujtlatlavitzotivitze, qujmoottititivitze, iuhqujn tlapopoloca, in tlein qujmolhuja in popolochcopa.

Auh in jquac oqujttaque Tzioacpopocatzin: qujtoque. Cujx iee hin in Motecuçoma: Qujmjlhujque, in intlan mantivitze in intlachixcaoan, in tlaxcalteca, cempoalteca, injc qujmõichtacatlatlanjque: conjtoque ca amo ie iehoatl totecujioane. Inin tzioacpopocatzin, qujmjxiptlatica in Motecuçomatzin:

qujlhujque. Cujx ie te in tiMotecuçomą? Conjto. Ca nehoatl in namotechiuhcauh in njMotecuçoma.

Auh njmã qujlhujque. Nepa xiauh, tleica in titechiztlacavia, ac titechmati, amo vel titechiztlacaviz, amo vel toca timocaiaoaz, amo vel titechquamanaz, amo vel titechixmamatiloz, amo vel titechixchichioaz, amo vel titechixcuepaz, amo vel titechixpatiliz, amo vel titechixtlacuepiliz, amo vel titechixpopoloz, amo vel titechixmjmjctiz, amo vel titechixçoquijviz, amo vel titechixçoquimatocaz? amo tehoatl ca vnca in Motecuçoma, amo vel techmetlatiliz, amo vel mjnaiaz? campa iaz? cujx tototl, cujx patlanjz? cuj noço tlallan qujquetzaz yiovi, cujx cana ca tepetl

648
728 there somewhere a mountain pierced by a hole that he may enter? For we shall see him; for we shall not fail to look into his face. We shall hear his words; we shall listen to that [which cometh] from his lips."

Thus they only despised and belittled him. Thus came only to nothing still another of their welcomes and greetings.

Then they hurried straight and took the road direct [to Moctezuma].

coionquj yitic calaquiz ca tiquittazque, ca amo maca ixco titlachiezque, ticcaquizque in jtlatol, itenco titlacaquizque,

ic çan contelchiuhque, atle ipan conittaque ic çan onnenpoliuh in oc çequj in intenamjc, in intetlapalol:

ic njmã quijoalmelauhtivetzque in melaoac vtli.

Thirteenth Chapter. Here is related how Moctezuma sent still other soothsayers in order that they might cast a spell over the Spaniards,[1] and what befell them on the way.

And another company of messengers, who were soothsayers and magicians, and fire priests, also went and made their way to contend with them. But they could do nothing. They could not cast a spell over them; no more could they contend against and exert power over them. No longer could they succeed.

For a drunkard came along the way. They went up against him and stopped, stunned. They beheld him as one from Chalco, for so was he arrayed. He was dressed as a man from Chalco; he acted as a Chalcan. Like one besotted, he bore himself and acted like one who is drunk. With eight grass ropes was he bound about the chest.[2] He accosted them, having come ahead of the outposts of the Spaniards.[3]

And he rose up against them and said: "What do you come to do here again? What do you now wish? What would Moctezuma yet wish to do? Hath he perchance now come to his senses? Is he now filled with a great fear? For he hath committed a fault. He hath abandoned the common folk; he hath destroyed men. People have been struck upon the head; they have been bound [in wrappings for the dead]. He hath laughed at and deceived them!"

And when they had thus seen this, when they had heard his words, to no purpose did they give him attention, praying humbly to him and quickly setting up his abode — his earth pyramid and his straw bed. But he would not then look at it; vain was its erection. To no purpose had they made the earth pyramid.

Just as if they had plunged him into his rage, he presently chid and abused them, and spoke harshly.

Injc matlactli omei capitulo vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma: qujmjoa oc cequjntin tetlachivianjme injc qujtlachivizquja Espanoles yoan in tlein vtlica impan muchiuh. 648 ● 791 787

Auh ic no centlamantique titlanti: ichoan in tlaciuhq̃ in nanaoalti, yoan tletlenamacaque, no ic iaca, no ic iaque in tenamjquizque: auh aoccã vel mochiuhque, aoccan vel teittaque, aocmo tlaipantilique, aocmo teipantilique, aocmo onicoatque:

çan ie ce tlaoanquj vtlica ica ommotzotzonato, qujmonamjctito, ica onmjxtilquetzato: injc qujttaq̃ iuhqujn chalcatl ic omochichiuh, mochalcachichiuh, mochalcanenequj: iuhqujn tlaoãquj, mjvincanenequj, motlaoãcanenequj: chicuei çacamecatl ic melilpi, qujmjxnamjctivitz hiiacac icativitz in Españoles.

Auh çan inca iemac: qujmjlhuj. tle noma amaxtivitze in njcã? tlen oc anqujnequj? tle noma qujchioznequj in Motecuçoma? cujx qujn omozcali? cujx qujn axcan ic momauhticapul? ca otlatlaco, ca ocomcavili in macevalli, ca otlacaixpolo teca omoquavitec, ca teca omoçoqujmjlo, ca teca omavilti, ca teca omocacaiauh.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in, in oiuh qujcaque itlatol, oc nen itlan aquj, in qujmocnotlatlauhtilia, qujtlalilitivetzque ichiel itlalmomoz, yoan içacapepech, çan njmã aocmo vmpa qujoalittac: tel çan nenpanca in ommotlalica, in vncan oc nen qujtlalmomuztica:

çan ie iuhqujn icamac ommaqujque, ic vncan qujmaoa, qujntequjaia, iuhqujn motitiznatlatoa:

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[1] Españoles: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

[2] See Pl. 27.

[3] The corresponding Spanish text reads: "traya ceñido a los pechos ocho cabestros o sogas hechas de heno como de esparto, y venia de hacia donde venian los españoles."

648 He said to them:

787 "Why do you vainly stand here? No longer will
791 there be a Mexico; [it is gone] forever. Go hence; it no more existeth. Turn about; look at what befalleth Mexico — what thus already cometh to pass!"

Then they looked there; they quickly turned there to see. They beheld that already all the temples, the tribal temples, the priests' dwellings,[4] and all the houses in Mexico burned; and [it looked] as if already there were fighting.

And when the soothsayers had seen this, it was as if they had lost heart; they could say nothing; it was as if they had been made to swallow something.

They said: "This is not for us to see: it must needs be that Moctezuma see what we have seen. For this is no common being; this is the youth Tezcatlipoca."

000 Then he vanished, and they saw him no more.

And so the messengers went no further to encounter [the Spaniards]; they no longer pressed on toward them. From there the soothsayers and fire priests turned back and came to tell Moctezuma. There they and those who earlier had gone [with] Tziuacpopocatzin saw one another.

And when these messengers had come to arrive, just so they related to Moctezuma how this had come to pass and how they had beheld it. Moctezuma, when he heard it, only bowed his head; he stood with his head lowered. He hung his head: he stood with his head downcast. He did not then speak, but only remained full of woe for a long time as if beside himself.

Finally he thus answered them, and said: "What can we do? What can be done? For we are finished; we have taken the medicine. Shall we perhaps climb a mountain? Should we perhaps flee? For we are Mexicans. Shall we in truth perhaps enslave the Mexican domain? Unlucky[5] are the poor old men and old women! And the children, who have no understanding — where may they be taken? What can be done? Where, in truth, can one go? For now we have taken the medicine. Come what may, in whatsoever way it may befall, we shall marvel at it!"

qujmjlhuj.

Tle ça nen in njcan amjcativitze aoqujc iez in Mexico, ie ic cēmāia, nepa xivia, aocmo vncā, tlaxommocuepacan, tlaxontlachiacan in Mexico, tlein ie mochioa: in juh ie mochioa.

Nimā ic oallachixque, oallachixtivetzque, in qujoalitta ie tlatlā in jxqujch teucalli, in calpulli, in calmecatl, yoan in jxqujch mexico calli, yoan iuhqujn ma ie cuel necaliva.

Auh in oiuh qujttaque in tlaciuhque, iuhqujn canjn ia, iniollo, aocmo onnaoatque, iuhqujn aca itla qujntololti:

qujtoque inin ca amo totechmonequja in tiqujttazque, ca ie itech monequja qujttaz in Motecuçoma, in otiqujttaque: ca amo çan aca, ca iehoatl in telpuchtli Tezcatlipuca:

njman ic poliuh, aocmo qujttaque.

Auh in titlanti aocmo tenamjqujto, aocmo tevic qujçato, ça vncā oalilotque in tlaciuhque, in tletlenamacaque, qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma: oalnepanjxtiaque in achto iaque in Tzioacpopocatzin.

Auh in oacico iehoantin titlantin, iuhquj povilique in Motecuçoma in juh mochiuh in juh qujttaque. In motecuçoma, in oiuh qujcac, ça oaltolo ça oaltolotimotlali, oalquechpilo, oalquechpilotimotlali, aocmo oalnaoat, çan ontlanauhtimotlali, vecauhtica in iuhquj ontlapolo,

ça ixqujch injc qujnoalnanqujli: qujnoalilhuj. Quennel mocechtle ca ie ic toncate, ca ie otictomacaque, cujx cacah tepetl tictlecavizque: auh cujx ticholozque ca timexica, cujx nellaontimaliviz in mexicaiutl, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama: auh in piltzintli, in aia qujmati, campa neviqujlilozque, quēnel, quēçannel nen, quēnoçonel, campa nel, ca ie tictomacaticate in çaço tlein, in çaço quenamj in ticmaviçozque.

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[4] *Calpulli, calmecatl* — tribal temple and priests' dwelling are translations of these terms previously used in this work, for which there is precedent. See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit., passim.* Refer also to Arturo Monzón: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), *passim* (*calpulli*) and p. 77 (*calmécatl*); or Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," *Memoria del Instituto Nacional Indigenista*, VI (1954), pp. 20sqq. (*calpulli*), 26 (*calmécatl*).

[5] From *motolinja* on, the passage is translated in Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 520.

Fourteenth Chapter, in which it is told how Moctezuma ordered closed the road, so that the Spaniards might not come to arrive here in Mexico.

And Moctezuma had vainly commanded that they obstruct the road; that with maguey they plant the highway which led direct here to Mexico; and that there they be shown the road which led to and entered Texcoco.

And when they had blocked the way with rows of maguey, [the Spaniards] then learned of it and saw that they had only closed the way. They thought nothing of it. They took [the plants] up; they kicked each one far; they hurled them out. Far off they cast the maguey plants.

They slept at Amaquemecan.[1] Then they went on, direct, along the road and came to reach Cuitlauac. There also they slept.

Assembling from all parts the rulers who held sway over the people of the floating gardens — Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic — they spoke to them just as they had spoken to the rulers of Chalco. And these rulers of the dwellers in the floating gardens then also submitted.

And when the Spaniards had been satisfied, then they moved on and settled themselves at Itztapalapan. Thereupon they called for and sought the rulers known as the Four Lords — [those of] Itztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, Colhuacan, and Uitzilopochco. In the same manner they spoke to and addressed them (as hath been told). And just so they peacefully and quietly submitted to the Spaniards.

And Moctezuma commanded that none make war upon them nor contend against and meet them in battle. He ordered only that they not neglect [the Spaniards' needs]; that great care be taken of them.

And upon this, here in Mexico, all lay quiet; [the people] did not go out or venture forth. Mothers did not let [children] go out. The roads were empty, and clear; the roads were clean, as in early morning.

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma tlanaoati in motzatzaquaz vtli injc amo vel aciqujvi Españoles, in njcã mexico. Tab

Auh in Motecuçoma, oc nen tlanaoatica in qujtzatzaquazque in vtli, in vchpantli, qujmetecaque in oallamelauhticac njcã Mexico: auh ie vmpa qujmontlachieltiaia, in jpan vtli iaticac, calacticac tetzcucu.

Auh in vncan qujmetepãtzacca: njman qujmatque, qujttaque in çan oqujtzatzacque, atle ipan conjttaque, caanque, veca conxoxopeuhque, quioalchichitotzque, veca ica ommamaiauhque in metl: 000

vncã cochque amaquemecan, njmã ie ic vitze, tlamelauhtivitze, qujmelauhtivitze in vtli, acico in cuitlaoac, çan oc no vncan cochque: 648

in oqujnocentlalique tlatoque, in jxquijcan tlatocachioa injc chinãpaneca in Suchmjlco in cujtlaoac, in mjzqujc: çan ie no ivi in qujmjlhujque, in juh qujmjlhujque chalcatlatoque. Auh in ichoanti chinanpaneca tlatoque, çan njmã no intlan oncalacque.

Auh in oiniollo vmpachiuh, in Españoles: njman ic oalolinque ommotlalico ĩn jtztapalapan: njman ie no ic qujnnotza, qujnnenotzallanj in tlatoque: Nauhtecutli mjtoa. In jtztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, culhoacan, Vitzilobuchco: çã ie no ie in qujmjlhujque, injc qujntlatoltique (in oiuh mjto). Auh çan no ivian, iocuxca intlan oncalacque in Españoles.

Auh in Motecuçomatzin, amo tlanaoatiaia injc aca qujniauchioaz, injc aca iauiotica qujnnamjqujz, aiac iauiotica qujnnamjqujz, çan tlanaoatiaia, injc amo çan tlacomachoazque, ça cenca inca nechioaloz.

Auh in jquac y, in njcan Mexico, ça iuhqujn cactoc, aocac oalqujça, aocac oalqujztica. In tenanhoan aocmo oaltequjxtitlanj, ça chichipaoaticac in vtli, ichpelpul icac, ça ichpeliuhticac in vtli, ça iuhqujn tlal-

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[1] Details are to be found in Chimalpahin, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

648 None crossed others' paths — they did not dare; they retired to their houses only to know that there was woe. The common folk said: "Pay no heed. Let [the hour] be accursed. What will you do? For now we shall die; we shall perish. Yea, now we await our death."

chipaepan, aocac iztlapal iauh, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, necacaltemaloc, ça incavilo in tlaocuialo: qujtoaia in macevalli. Ma iuh tie, ma motelchioa, tle oc iez in anqujchioa, ca ie timjqujzq̃, ca ie tipolivizque, ca ie toconchixticate in tomjqujz.

Then all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains—those of Tlaxcalla, of Tliliuhquitepetl, of Uexotzinco—sped along at the rear. They came girt for war, with their cotton armor, their shields, their bows; their quivers filled and crammed with feathered arrows, some of barbed, wooden points, some blunted, some with obsidian points. They came crouching, and as they went, loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads.

And some bore burdens upon their backs; they carried rations on their backs. Some carried things [held by a tump line about] their foreheads, or, some, their breasts; some bore things on carrying frames, some in cage-like baskets, some in deep, reed baskets; some bore bundles; they carried them upon their backs; some dragged the great lombard guns, which rested upon wooden wheels. And they moved them along shouting.

njman ie ixquich in aoatepeoa, in tlateputzcatl, in 648
tlaxcaltecatl, tliliuhqujtepecatl, in vexotzincatl: tla- 726
toqujlitivitze, moiauchichiuhtivitze imjichcavipil, in-
chichimal, intlatlavitol, inmjmjcon tetentiuh, caca-
catzcatiuh in totomjtl, cequj chichiqujlli, cequj tih-
pontli, cequj itztmjtl momamantivi, motenvitectivi,
motenpapavitivi, tocujleuhtivi, tlatlanqujqujztivi,
moquacuecuechotivi.

Auh in cequjntin tlamama, itacamama, cequjntin 648
tlaixquamama, cequjntin tlaelpanmama, cequjntin 726
tlacacaxvia, cequjntin tlaoacalhuja, cequjntin tlatom- 482
piavia, cequjntin tlaqujmjlhuja, maçoço tlaqujmjl-
mamama, cequjntin qujvilana in vevei, in totomaoac
tlequjqujztli, quauhtemalacac oonotiuh, qujcavatzti-
vitze.

[p. 40 is blank]

648 **Sixteenth Chapter.** Here is related how Moctezuma went in peace and calm to meet the Spaniards there at Xoloco,[1] where now standeth the house of Alvarado, or there at the place they call Uitzillan.[2]

And after this, when [the Spaniards] reached Xoloco, when affairs had thus far developed, and had reached this point,[3] thereupon Moctezuma arrayed and bedight himself in order to meet them. And [with him were] a number of great lords and princes, his chief men and nobles. Upon this, they went to meet them. In shining gourds they set out
[137 fine flowers—sun flowers[4] and magnolias,[5] and, lying in the midst of them, popcorn flowers,[6] yellow
355] magnolias,[7] and cacao blossoms;[8] and [there were] wreaths for the head and garlands. And they bore
[301] golden neck bands, neck bands with pendants, and plaited neck bands.

648
431 And when, there at Uitzillan, Moctezuma met them, he then offered gifts to the war leaders, to the leaders of the warriors; he gave them flowers; he bejeweled them with neck bands; he hung garlands about them; he placed chains of flowers on them

Injc caxtolli oce capitulo: vncã mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma pacca, iocuxca qujnnamjqujto Españoles, in vmpa xoluco, in axcan ie vmpa manj ical albarado, in anoço vncan qujtoa Vitzillan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oacico xoluco, in ie vncan tlantimanj ie vncan iaquetivitz. Niman ie ic muchichioa, mocencaoa in Motecuçomatzin injc tenamjqujz: yoan oc cequjntin vevein tlatoque in tlaçopipilti, in jtlatocaiovan, in jpilloan: njmã ie ic vi tenamjqujzque, xicalpechtica cõmamãque in tlaçosuchitl, in chimalsuchitl, in iollosuchitl inepantla icatiuh in jzqujsuchitl, in coztic iiesuchitl, in cacaoasuchitl, icpacsuchitl, in suchineapantli: yoã qujtquj in teucujtlacozcatl, chaiaoac cozcatl, cozcapetlatl.

Auh ie vncan in vitzilla ontenamjc Motecuçomatzin, njman ie ic contlamamaca in iautachcauh, in intepachocauh iauqujzque, cosochimacac, concozcati in cozcatl, consuchicozcati, consuchiapan, conjcpacsuchiti: njman ie ic ixpan contequjlia in teucujtla-

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[312] [1] Xoloco or Xoloca served to identify the canal which ran along the Calzada de Chimalpopoca; this canal was crossed by a bridge given the same name. In times past they have been named Canal and Bridge of San Antón. Its exact location is the intersection of the Calzadas of San Antonio Abad and Chimalpopoca, the place of the first meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). See map. Alfonso Caso, in *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco* (México, D. F.: 4ª Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Sept. 1954; mimeographed), identifies Xoloco as a *barrio* bounded N. by a line S. of Calle de José Ma. Izazaga; E., Pino Suárez and S. Antonio Abad; S., Lucas Alamán; and W., extension of 20 de Noviembre.

[2] Near the Church of S. Pablo, according to Sahagún's Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Chapter 30.

[3] Corresponding Spanish text: "*En llegando los españoles a aquel río que está sobre las casas de albarado que se llama Xoloco*".

[4] *Chimalsuchitl.* *Chimalxochitl* is mentioned in Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 (fig., p. 102). *Chimalacatl* (ibid., p. 100), "*tiene . . . flores redondas mayores (gran prodigio) de un palmo, amarillo rojizas con algo de amarillo más fuerte en su parte media*"; *Helianthus annuus* L. Linn.; *girasol, chimalatl, maíz de tejas*. *Chimalacaxochitl* is classified as "*compuesta*!"

[5] *Yollosuchitl.* *Yoloxóchitl* (*Talauma mexicana*, Don?), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 299. According to Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*), *Vatican Library — an Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310 and Pl. 98, it is the Mexican magnolia and (citing Sahagún): "was reserved solely for the nobility, especially a kind known as *itzcuinyolloxochitl*."

[6] *Izquisuchitl.* *Esquisúchil*: in Chiapas, *jazmín del istmo — Bourreria formosa; B. huanita; B. littoralis* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 620). Popcorn flower (*Bourreria huanita* [La Llave and Lex.] Hemsl.), according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 276 and Pl. 60 — *a rare and coveted plant whose flowers were used to flavor cacao.* In Sahagún (Jourdanet and Siméon ed.), p. 97, n. 2, it is stated that "*Cette fleur vient sur l'arbre izquixochitlquahuitl, bourreria huanita, de la famille des asperifoliées.*"

[7] *Yiesuchitl*—Nardo Antonio Recchi (*Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Hernandi* [Rome: Ex Typographeio Vitalis Mascardi, 1651], p. 258) [illegible]. There is a confusion of terminology. Santamaría (*op. cit.*, I, p. [illegible]) [illegible] Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 277) points out that, while according to Hernández it is a magnolia, in the Badianus MS the flower "appears to belong to the Compositae."

[8] *Cacauasuchitl.* *Cacahuaxóchitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 (*Quararibea funebris Llave*). In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 240, it is identified as "*flores de cacao. Myrodia funebris, Benth. Bombacáceas.*" Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 311 and Pl. 98) has *Theobroma angustifolium* DC, one of the important cacao plants.

648 43) and wreaths upon their heads. Thereupon he spread out before [Cortés] the golden neck bands — all the greeting gifts with which the welcome closed. Some he hung with neck bands.

648 Then [Cortés] said to Moctezuma: "Is this not thou? Art thou not he? Art thou Moctezuma?"

Moctezuma replied: "It is so; I [am he]."

At this he arose to meet him face to face, did a great reverence to him, drew close to him, and stood firm.

Thus did he pray and speak [to Cortés]: "O our lord, thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Thou hast arrived on earth; thou hast come to thy noble city of Mexico. Thou hast come to occupy thy noble mat and seat, which for a little time I have guarded and watched for thee. For thy governors [of times past] have gone — the rulers Itzcoatl, Moctezuma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tiçoc, Auitzotl — who, not very long ago, came to guard [thy mat and seat] for thee and to govern the city of Mexico. Under their protection the common folk came here. Could they, perchance, now find their descendants, those left behind? O, that one of them might be a witness to marvel that to me now hath befallen what I see; who am the only descendant of our lords. For I dream not, nor start from my sleep, nor see this as in a trance. I do not dream that I see thee and look into thy face. Lo, I have been troubled for a long time. I have gazed into the unknown whence thou hast come — the place of mystery. For the rulers [of old] have gone, saying that thou wouldst come to instruct thy city, [that] thou wouldst descend to thy mat and seat; that thou wouldst return. And now it is fulfilled: thou hast returned; thou hast suffered fatigue; thou hast spent thyself. Arrive now in thy land. Rest, lord; visit thy palace [that] thou mayest rest thy body. Let our lords arrive in the land."[9]

And when Moctezuma had ended his address, which he had directed to the Marquis, Marina explained and interpreted for him. And when the Marquis had heard Moctezuma's words, then he spoke to Marina.[10] He addressed them in a barbarous tongue; he said in his strange language:

"May Moctezuma quiet his heart and not be frightened. We love him much. Now our hearts are

concatl, in jaqujtlamãtli tenamjcoionj, tenamjctli in jca oiecauh, cequj cõcozcati:

Njmã qujoalilhuj in Motecuçoma. Cujx amo te? cujx amo ie te? ie te in timotecuçoma:

qujto in Motecuçoma, ca quemaca ca nehoatl:

njmã ie ic vel ommoquetza conjxnamjctimoquetza, connepechtequjlia, vel inquijch caana, motlaquauhquetza:

injc contlatlauhti, qujlhuj. Totecujoe oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, otlaltitech tommaxitico, oitech tommopachiviltico in Matzin, in motepetzin mexico, oipan tommovetzitico in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin, in oachitzinca njmjtzõnopielili, in onjmjtzonnotlapielili, ca oiaque in motechiuhcaoan in tlatoque: in Jtzcoatzin, in veve Motecuçoma, in Axaiaca, in Tiçocic, in Avitzotl, in oc uel achic mjtzommotlapielilico, in oqujpachoco in atl, in tepetl in Mexico: in incujtlapan, inteputzco in ovalietia in momacevaltzin, cujx oc vallamati in jmonjca, in inteputzco, ma ceme iehoantin qujtztiazquj qujmaviçotiazquj, in nehoatl in axcan nopan omochiuh in ie njqujtta, in ça imonjca, inteputzco totecujovan camo çan njtemjqquj, amo çã njcochitleoa, amo çan njccochitta, amo çan njctemjqquj ca ie onjmjtznottili, mjxtzinco onjtlachix, ca ononnentlamatticatca in ie macujl in ie matlac, in vmpa nonjtztica, in quenamjcan in otimoqujxtico in mjxtitlan in aiauhtitlan: auh ca iehoatl inin qujteneuhtivi in tlatoq in ticmomachitiqujuh in matzin, in motepetzin in jpã timovetzitiqujuh in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin in tioalmovicaz. Auh in axcan ca oneltic, otioalmovicac, oticmjhiovilti, oticmociavilti, ma tlaltitech ximaxiti, ma ximocevitzino, ma xocommomachiti in motecpancaltzin, ma xicmocevili in monacaiotzin, ma tlaltitech maxitican in totecujovan.

Auh in ontzonqujz in jtlatlatlauhtiliz Motecuçoma concaqujti in Marques: njman ic concaqujxtili connaoatilhuj in Malintzin. Auh in ocõcac in Marques in jtlatol in motecuçoma: njman ic qujnaoalnotza in Malitzin qujnaoalpopoloa: qujtoa in jpopolochcopa.

Ma moiollali in Motecuçoma, macamo momauhti, ca cenca tictlaçotla, ca axcan vel pachiuj in toiollo,

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9. A number of the allusions made here to Moctezuma's ancestry are explained in Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," pp. 20-21.

10. The Aztec text should read "Malintzin."

satisfied, because we have known and heard him. For a long time we have wished to see him and to look upon his face. And now that we have seen him and have come to his home in Mexico, at leisure he may hear our words."

Thereupon they took him by the hand and went leading him by it. They clapped him on the back in order to make known to him their love.

And the Spaniards beheld and examined him. They walked about on foot, and mounted or dismounted in order to look at him.

And the nobles, as many as accompanied him, [were], first, Cacamatzin, ruler of Texcoco; second, Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan; third Itzquauhtzin, a general, ruler of Tlatilulco; and fourth, Topantemoctzin, of Tlatilulco, who was Mocteçuma's store keeper. [These] accompanied him. And still other noblemen of Tenochtitlan [were] Atlixcatzin, a commanding general; Tepeuatzin, a general; Totomotzin, the army commander; Ecatenpatiltzin, and Quappiatzin. When Moctezuma was taken, they only hid themselves and took refuge. They abandoned him in desperation.

ca tiqujximati in ticcaquj, ca ie ixquich cavitl in cenca tiqujttaznequj in jxco titlachiaznequj. Auh injn ca otiqujttaque, ie otioallaq in jchan in Mexico, iujañ qujcaquiz in totlatol: 645

njman ie ic imatitech conanque, ie ic qujvicatiujtze, qujtzotzona injc qujnextilia in intetlaçotlaliz.

Auh in Españoles qujtta, qujcecemjtta, icxitlan ompepeoa, ontletleco, oaltetemo injc qujtta.

Auh in tlatoque inquijntin in jtlan mantiaque. Inic 646
ce, Cacamatzin, Tetzcucu tlatoanj. Inic vme, Tetle- 565
pãquetzatzin: tlacuban tlatoanj. Injc ei, Itzquauhtzin tlacochcalcatl: tlatilulco tlatoanj. Injc navi, Topantemoctzin, tlatilulco itlatlatlalicauh catca, in Motecuçoma in ommantiaque. Auh in occequjntin pipiltin tenochca in Atlixcatzin, tlacatecatl, in tepeoatzin, tlacochcalcatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Ticociacacatl, Totomotzin, hecatẽpatiltzin, Quappiatzin in naioc Motecuçoma camo çã motlatique, mjnaxque, qujtlaueicauhque.

[p. 44 is blank]

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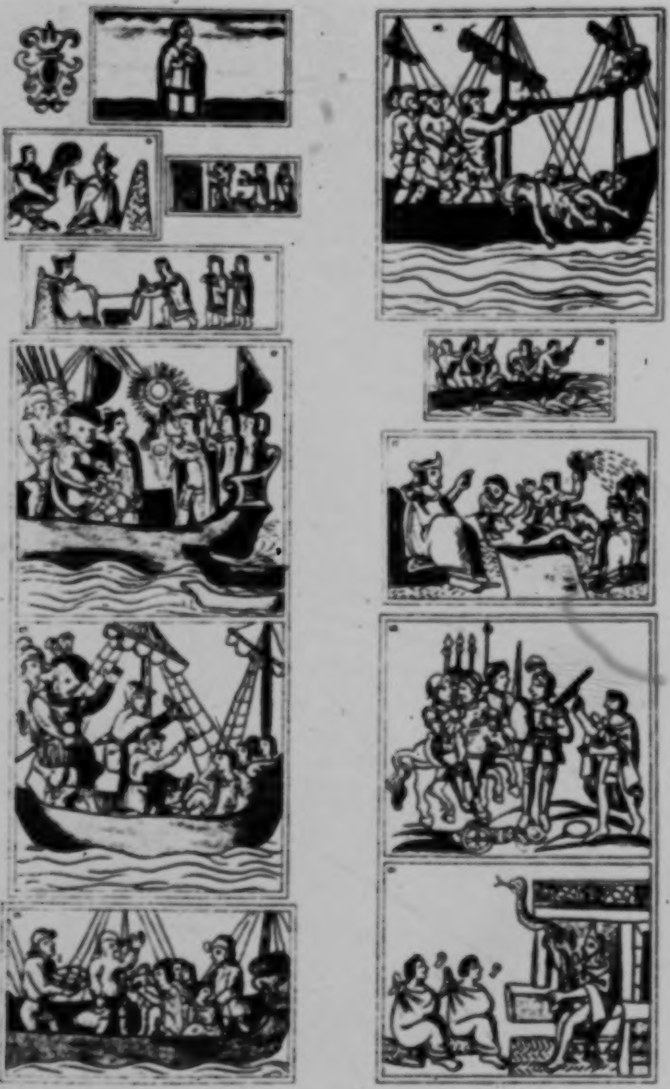
[787]



— After Paso y Troncoso

8. Sixth omen: the weeping woman (Chapter 1). 9. Seventh omen: the ashen bird with a mirror (Chapter 1). 10. Eighth omen: two-headed men (Chapter 1). 11. Stewards present Spaniards' gift to Moctezuma (Chapter 2). 12. Moctezuma's messengers present gifts to Cortés (Chapter 5). 13. Spaniards bind Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 14. Spaniards fire guns and terrify the messengers (Chapter 5). 15. Spaniards give food to Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 16. Moctezuma's messengers return to the mainland (Chapter 6). 17. Captives are slain before Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 6). 18. Spaniards in war array (Chapter 7). 19. Moctezuma hears description of the Spaniards (Chapter 7).

[p. 44(D)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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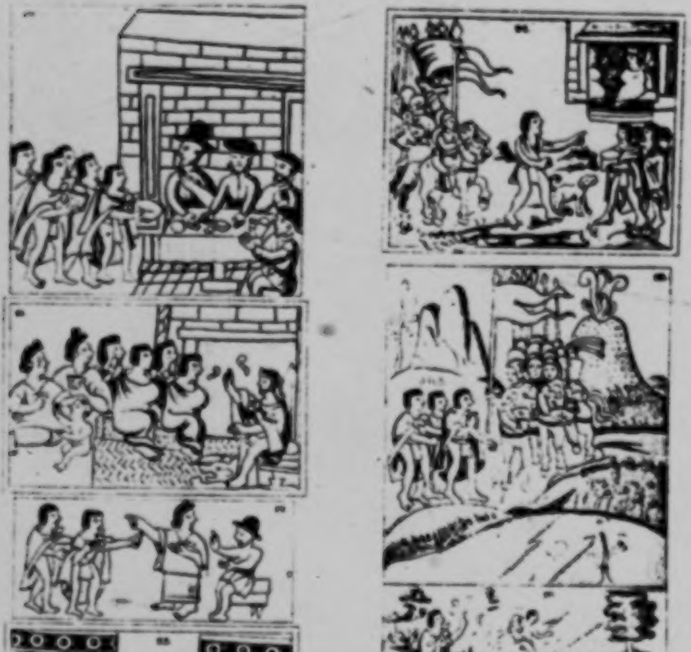

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Iztactepetl and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's soothsayers meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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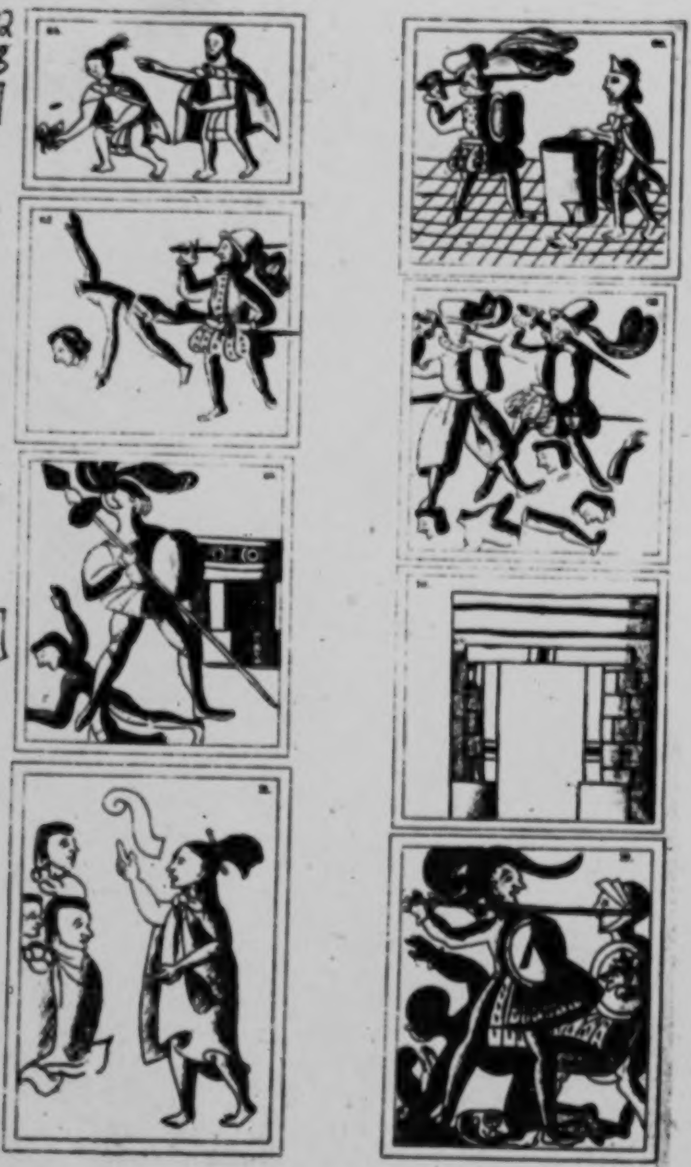

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

65. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p. 44(K)]

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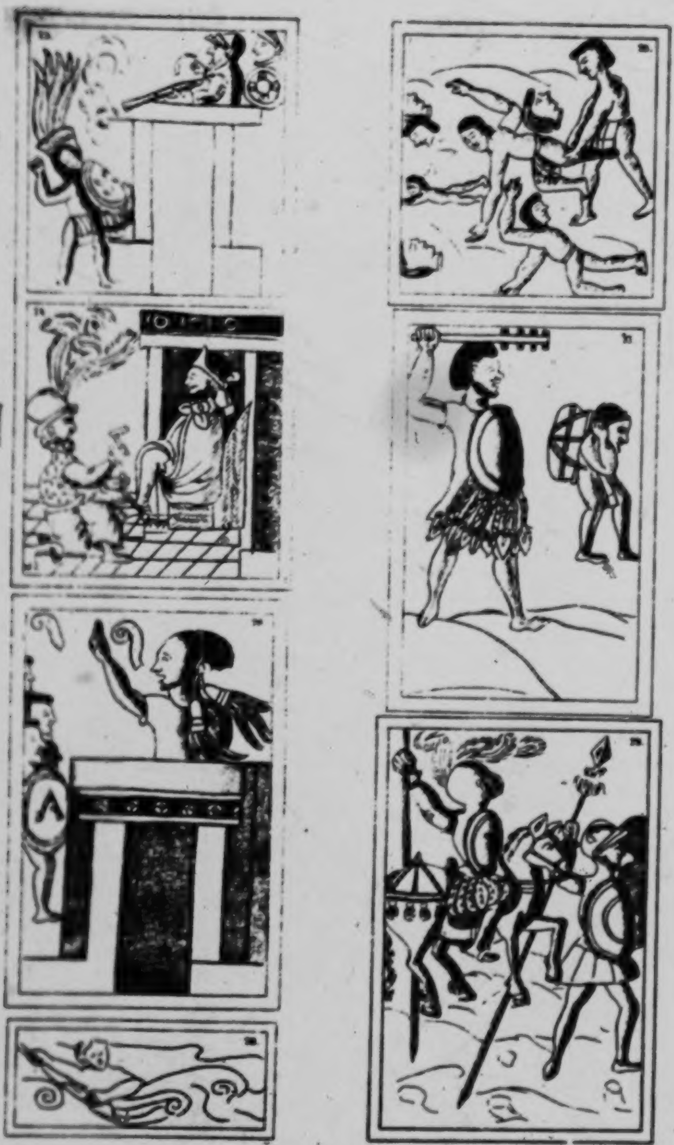
482]



—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Itzquauhtzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

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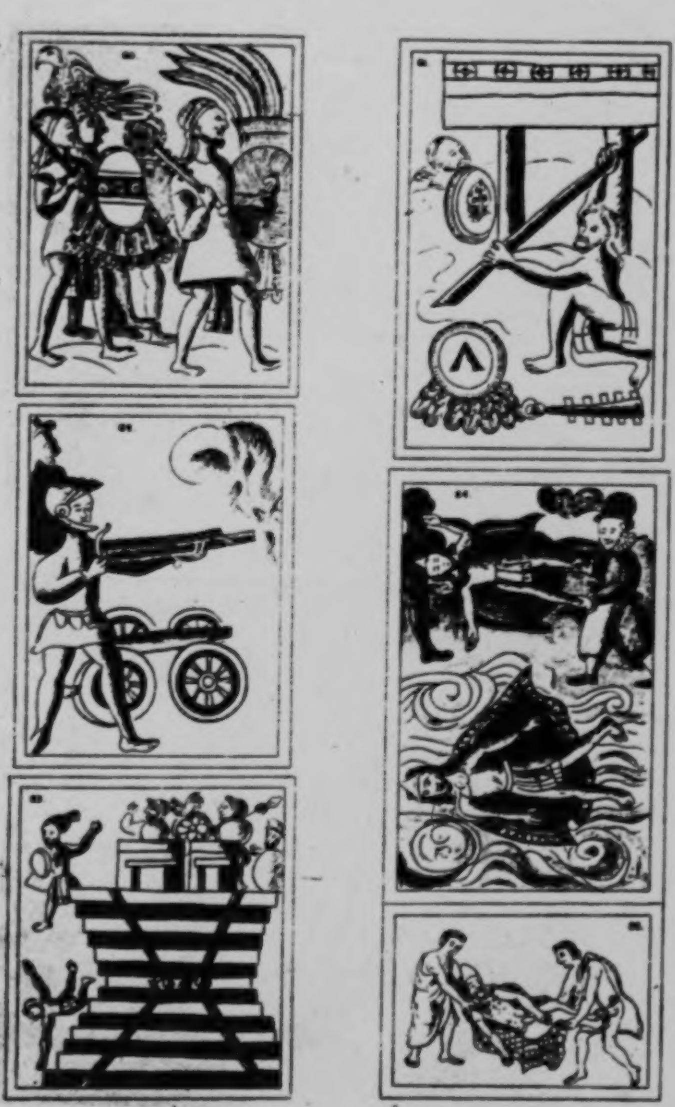

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

80-82. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22). 83. Spaniards rout chieftains from the pyramid temple (Chapter 22). 84. Bodies of Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin are cast out of the palace by the Spaniards (Chapter 23). 85. Moctezuma's body is carried away (Chapter 23).

[p.44 (M)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955

NU7 Aztec NU7

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● 648
[501]

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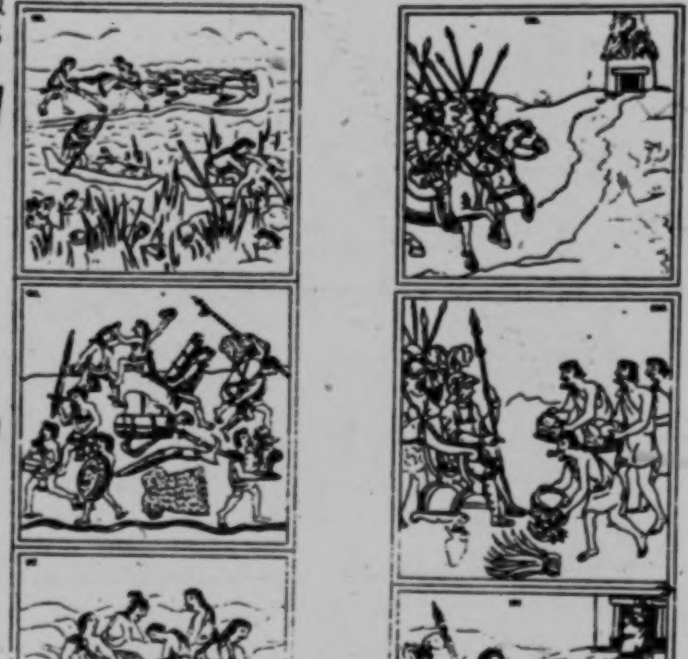

—After Paso y Troncoso

96, 97. Mexicans recover bodies and loot from the Toltec canal (Chapter 25). 98. Massacre at Calacoayan (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Teocalhueyacan (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Teocalhueyacan welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102. Spaniards prepare to depart from Teocalhueyacan (Chapter 26).

[p.44(0)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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● 648
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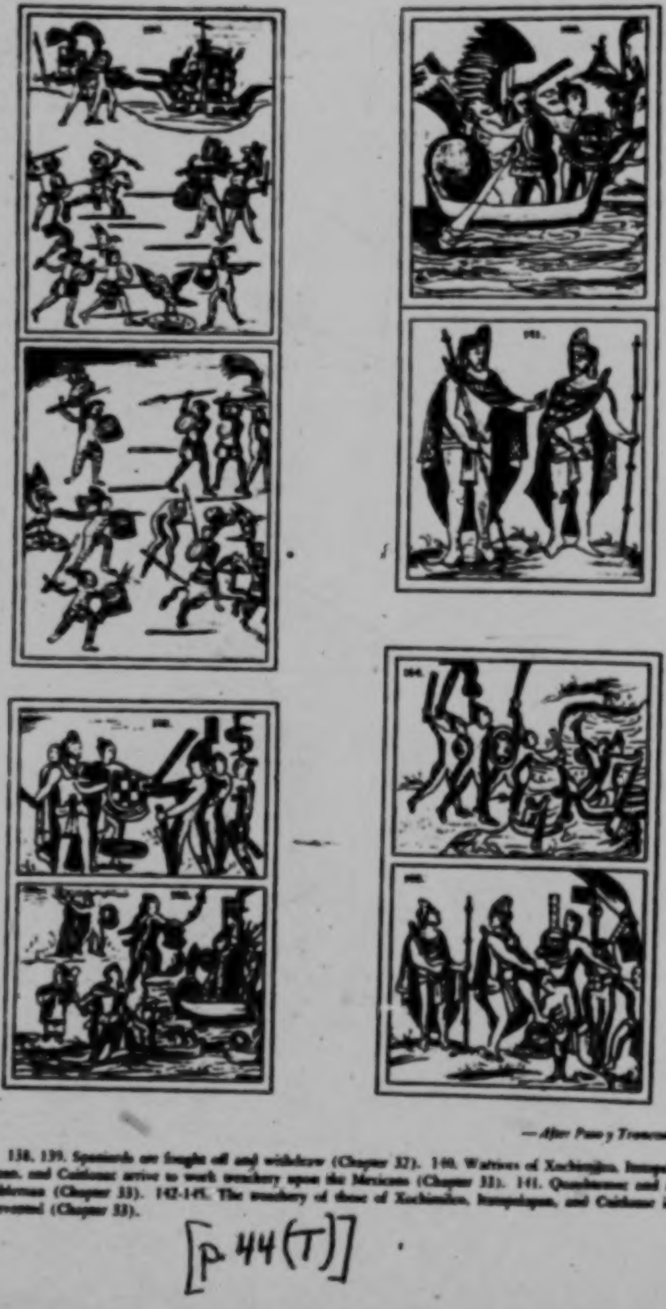

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itztapalapan, and Culhuacan arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a nobleman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itztapalapan, and Culhuacan is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p 44 (T)]

Twenty-first Chapter. Here is told [how] war first began, when the Mexicans gave battle to the Spaniards here in Mexico.

And the Spaniards fortified themselves. And the Spaniards also shot at the Mexicans with iron arrows, and fired the guns at them. And then they put Moctezuma in irons.

And all the chieftains who had died [in the temple courtyard] were thereupon taken out and brought forth, and identified. And the mothers and fathers raised a cry of weeping; all wept over them; there was wailing. First they took them to their homes. Later they carried them to the temple courtyard, brought them together there, and burned them together there at the place called Quauhxicalco.[1] But some [were] burned only at the various young men's houses.

And when the sun was about to enter his house, [but] a little sun still [shone], thereupon Itzquauhtzin cried out; on the [palace] roof-top, he called out and spoke: "O Mexicans, O men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco, your ruler, the lord of men, Moctezuma, beseecheth you and saith: 'Let the Mexicans hear! We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]![2] Let [the battle] be abandoned! Let the arrow and shield be stilled! Unhappy [are] the poor old men and women, the common folk, those not yet of understanding — who toddle, who crawl, who lie placed in cradles of on [cradle] boards, those yet untrained!' For this reason doth your ruler say: 'We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]; may [the strife] cease' — because they have shackled him; they have had irons placed on his feet!"

And when he had said this, then they raised a clamor and chid him. The Mexicans became more and more enraged. One, much inflamed by anger, said: "What saith Moctezuma, O fool? [Art thou] not one of his warriors?"[3] Whereupon there was

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa iancujcan peuh iauiotl, injc qujmjcalque Mexica in Españoles in njcan mexico. 726

Auh in iehoantin Españoles: njman valmotepetlatzatzacque. Auh in Españoles no qujnvalmjna in Mexica in jca tepuzmjtl, yoan ic qujnvalmotla in tlequjqujztli. Auh njman tepuztli contlatlalilique in Motecuçoma:

auh in jxqujchtin tiacavan in omjcque: njmã ie ic tequjxtilo, teçaçaco, teiiximacho. Auh in tenanvan in tetaoan tlachoqujztleoa techoqujlilo, nechoqujlilo, oc inchachan qujnvicaca, çatepan qujnoalhujcaque in teuitvalco, qujncentlalique: vmpa qujncentlatique, cecnj in jtocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequjntin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali. 764

Auh in ie oncalaquja tonatiuh, in oc achiton tonatiuh: njman ie ic valtzatzi in Jtzquauhtzin, tlapanco valtzatzi: qujoalito. Mexicae, tenuchcae, tlatilulcae, amechtlatlauhti in amotlatocauh, in Tlacatecutli in Motecuçoma: qujoalitoa. Ma qujcaqujcan in Mexica, ca amo titenamjcvan, ma motlacavaltican, ma momana in mjtl in chimalli, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in aiamo qujmati in moquequetza, in movilana, in coçultentoc, in vapaltentoc, in aiamo qujmomachitia: ipampa conjtoa in amotlatocauh. Camo titenamjcvan, ma netlacaoaltilo, ca ocontepuzhiotique, tepuztli icxic ocontlatlalilique: 648

Auh in oconjto in, njmã ie ic conchachalatza, comaoa, çan ie ilhujce tlavelcuj in Mexica qualanj, oc ilhujce poçonj: conjlhuja. Tlein qujoalitoa Motecuçoma nocne? amo oc yioqujchoan? Njmã ie ic tlacaoaca, njman ie maantimoquetz in tlacaoaca:

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[1] Four places named Quauhxicalco, in the temple square, are mentioned in Book II — The Ceremonies, pp. 168, 170, 171.

[2] Corresponding Spanish text: "porq̃ estos hombres son muy fuertes mas que nosotros."

[3] Ibid.: "Que dize el puto de Motecuçoma? Y tu vellaco con el, no cessaremos la guerra." Nocne: literally, "my friend."

648 an outcry, and then the tumult rose and spread. Thereafter arrows fell upon the roof-top. But the Spaniards sheltered Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin under their shields lest the Mexicans pierce them with the arrows.

For this reason were the Mexicans in great wrath: because [the Spaniards] had completely destroyed the chieftains [in the Temple Courtyard]; without warning, they had slain them by treachery.[4]

726 Not yielding to force of arms, [the Mexicans] surrounded the palace. They watched various places that none might enter it secretly — that none might in stealth take in tortillas. Hence, at once was stayed all which they had been receiving; forthwith they left no more. In this way they would starve them.[5]

And as for those who would in vain advise [the besieged], or gain merit by secretly giving [one of them] a little food, if they were seen or detected, they then and there slew them. They killed them on the spot. They either struck them on the back of the head, or they stoned them.

At one time some Mexicans were seen carrying in furs. These let word fall that through them some had secretly gone in. Therefore all were strictly commanded that every road and canal be well guarded and watched; that all take great care in [482] the watching. And those who took in the furs [were] carriers,[6] the emissaries of the stewards of Ayotzintepec and Chinantla. Then and there they breathed their last; their work dropped; at the canal they struck them on the back of the head with wooden clubs.[7] Those of Tenochtitlan had only quarreled among themselves, and quite in confusion had seized the carriers. They said: "Surely he is one [of them]!" Then they put him to death. And if they noted someone [wearing] his fine crystal lip rod, then they quickly seized and killed him. They said: "Surely this one also walketh entering within, to serve food to Moctezuma." And if they saw someone who had tied on himself the maguey fiber cape[8] of a carrier, him also they quickly seized. They said: "This one also is a brute who goeth bearing evil tales, and letteth them in to see Moctezuma."

njmã ie ic onvetzi in mjtl in tlapanco. Auh in Motecuçomatzin yoan Itzquauhtzi, qujnchimalcaltia in Españoles in ma qujnmjnti in Mexica.

Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica: ichica ca vel qujmjxtlatique in tiacaoan in ainnemachpan in qujnpoiomjctique,

in amo ivivi ic concauhque qujiaoalotinem; in tepancalli: tlatlapia in açaca onjchtacacalaquj, in açaca conjchtacacalaquja tlaxcalli, çan njman ic ommotzacu in ixqujch in omacoia, çan njmã aocac tle concaoaia: iuhqujn qujncujtlaoatzque.

Auh in aqujque oc nen xonexcaia, tlamatzoaia, motlamacevjaia, in ichtacatzin cõmacaia in tlaqualtzintli: intla oittoque, intla oittaloque, njman vncã qujnmjctia, vncan qujntlatlatia, aço qujncuexcochvitequj, anoço qujntetepachoa.

Cequjntin mexica ceppa ittaloque, qujcalaqujaia totomjtl: iehoantin tlanexotlaque, inca cequjntin oncalaquj ichtaca, ic cenca netlaquauhnaoatiloc inje vellapieloz, vel mopiaz in ixquj vtli yoan in ixquj acalutli, vel necujtlaviloa vel ixpialoia. Auh in qujcalaqujaia totomjtl tequjtque intlaivalhoã in calpixque aiutzintepecatl yoan chinantecatl: njman vncan ihiotl qujz, njmã vncã intequjuh vetz, acaloco in qujmõcuexcochvivitecque, vitzantica, çan monetechvia in tenuchca, yoan çan jliviz in qujntzitzquja in tequitque, qujtoaia. Ca iehoatl in: njmã ic conmjctia. Auh intla aca conjttaia ichopilotenteuh: njman qujcujtivetzi, conmjctia: qujtoa, ca no iehoatl in oncalactinemj in contlatlamaca in Motecuçoma: yoan intla aca qujtta, qujmolpilia tequitcaaiatl, no qujcujtivetzi, qujtoa: ca no iehoatl in tlapalpul, in tetzauhtlatolli qujtqujtinemj, cõcalaquja, in conjtta motecuçoma.

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[4] For [illegible] read [illegible].

[5] Literally, "they dried their entrails."

[6] Corresponding Spanish text: "los servidores o pajes de Moctezuma."

[7] [illegible]

[8] Corresponding Spanish text: "[illegible] manta delgada que llaman ayatl."

726 [411] Thereupon the war boatmen cast their barbed spears at the Spaniards. From two sides—from both sides—fell the barbed spears. And the Spaniards also shot arrows at the Mexicans; they shot iron bolts and guns. On both sides there was death. The Spaniards and the Tlaxcallans were shot by arrows; the Mexicans were shot. And when the Spaniards reached Tlaltecayoacan, there at the Tolteca canal,[4] there they fell into what seemed a deep chasm; they filled an abyss. There all fell. Those of Tlaxcalla and Tliliuhquitepec tumbled in, as well as Spaniards, and the horses, and some women. With them the canal was completely filled, full, clear to the banks. But those who came at the very rear, emerged and crossed over on men, on bodies.

And when they had proceeded to reach Petlacalco,[5] where there was another canal, very slowly, cautiously, and softly, with guarded measure, they set forth upon the wooden bridge. Here they recovered themselves, caught their breaths, and revived their valor.

And when they reached Popotlan,[6] it was dawn, and light was spreading. Already [the Mexicans] set out to attack: already they had been recognized from afar. And then they went raising a war cry against them and surrounding them. The Mexicans took after them; they took those of Tlaxcalla; and Spaniards were slain. And also Mexicans and Tlatilulcans were killed. On both sides was death dealt. They made the Spaniards leave Tlacopan; they pursued them. And when they advanced forcing them from Tiliuhcan and Xocotlihiovican, there at Xoxocotla,[7] there Chimalpopoca, son of Moctezuma, died in the fray. They came upon him pierced by a
● [648] barbed spear, and wounded. Likewise Tlaltecatzin, lord of the Tepaneca, died there. They had guided the Spaniards, and gone ahead to show them the route, keep them from wrong roads, maintain them on their course, and make the way for them.[8]

Thereupon they passed the Tepçolatl (a small stream). They crossed and forded the water there at Tepçolatl.[9] Then they climbed the embankment

njmã ie ic contlaça in acalchimalleque in tlatzontectli in impã in Españoles: necoccampa necoc in valhuetzi in tlatzontectli. Auh in iehoantin Españoles, no qujnvalmjna in Mexica, qujvallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjquiztli necoc mjcoa: mjnalo in Españoles, yoan tlaxcalteca: mjnalo in Mexica. Auh in Españoles in oacique in tlaltecaioacan in vncan in tulteca acaloco: vncan iuhqujn motepexivique, motepexitenque, mochintin vncã onvetzque, onmotepeuhque in tlaxcaltecatl, in Tliliuhqujtepecatl, yoan in Españoles, yoã in cavallome, cequj cioa: vel ic ten in acalotli, vel ic tzoneuh. Auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ça tlacapan, ça nacapan in onquiçaque, in vmpanoque.

Auh in oacito petlacalco, in oc ce vncan icaca acalutli, çan jvian, çan matca, çan tlamach, çan tlamatzin in onqujzque, in jpan quauhtlapechtli, vncan patito, vncan imjhio qujcujque, vncã moqujchquetzque.

Auh in oacito popotlan, otlatvic, otlanez, ie oqujchcuhtivi, ie veca motlamatiltivi. Auh njmã ie ic qujmjcaoatztivi, qujmololhujtivi, intech icativi in Mexica, qujmaantivi in tlaxcalteca yoã in Españoles mjctivi: auh no mjctilo in Mexica in tlatilulca, necoc mjcoatiuh, tlacupan qujnqujxtique in qujntoca. Auh in oqujnqujxtito Tiliuhcan, xocotlihiovican, vncan in xoxocotla, vncan in iaumjc in chimalpupuca, in jpiltzin Motecuçoma: in jpan qujçato mjtoc, tlatzõtectica, yoan vivitectoc, çã ie no vncan iñ mjc, Tlaltecatzin, tepanecatl tecutli in qujniacanaia, in qujntlaixtlatitivia, qujmotlaxilitivia, qujmotequjlitivia, qujmoquechilitivia in Españoles:

njmã ie ic companavique in Tepçolatl (ce atoiatontli) vmpanoque, onapanoque, in vncan tepçolac, njmã ic ontlecoque in acueco, onmotlalito otoncal-

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[4] *Ibid.*: "*Estaba por Sn. Fernando y la Ermita de los Mártires o de Sn. Hipólito*" (citing Dn. Fernando Ramírez).

[5] *Ibid.*: canal on Calzada de Tacuba—the next to last canal.

[6] See map. Caso (*op. cit.*), however, identifies it as the last canal on the Calzada de Tacuba.

[7] Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "*el camino que va hacia Tacuba.*"

[8] In the Robredo edition of Sahagún (IV, p. 73), the account, from Bustamante's 1840 edition, is that "*murieron dos hijos de Motecuzoma, el uno se llamaba Chimalpupuca y el otro Tlaltecatzin, los cuales iban guiando a los españoles.*"

[9] Tepçolatl: a stream near Otoncalpulco (Bustamante, *loc. cit.*).

648 Twenty-fifth Chapter, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.

Tlacatecutli was the name, and Otoncoatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There [262] he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, saith: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla, and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman; [302] naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, vncã mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuxca qujnamjqujco in Españoles yoan qujnmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacatecutli itoca, otoncoatl in jpiltoca. in valteiacã, in vncan qujcavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, totolin, totollalevatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, totoltetl, yoa cequjn ioioli in tutultin, yoan cequj nochtli contecaque ixpan in capitan:

qujtoque. Oanqujmjhioviltique, oqujmociaviltique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech maaxitican, ma mjhiocujtican:

njmã qujnoalnãqujli in Malintzin: qujto. Notechiuhcavan, qujmjtlalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmã qujlhujque. Ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmã qujoalito in Malintzin. Ca ie qualli otechmocnelilique, vmpa tiazque in muztla, vmpa ticochizque.

Auh njmã vel iquac in otlatlavizcalli ieoac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ie ixquich Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalco, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltitlan, tulla, tulitic in qujmmamaiavito, qujmõtzotzopontitlaçato, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa qujntlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, coztalanpopul, coztemjlolotique in cioa, muchintin qujnpepetlauhq̃ qujntlacujcujlique, qujntlatepevilique, qujnpetztoccauhque.

Auh in Espanoles ononqua qujntetenque, qujnvivipanque, ie on tolcellome, ie õ meztallome, ie on acaxilome ie on tolcellutl innacaio, yoan qujnçaçacaque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in jxqujch in intlatquj in tlamamalchichiuhtiuh muchi namoieloc, muchi macoaloc, iñ aquja

Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards reached Teocalhueyacan, and how the people there joyfully received them.

On entering Teocalhueyacan, they went to and quartered themselves in the Otomí tribal temple. They had arrived in good time — shortly before noon.

And when they arrived, all was at hand [for them]; all was arranged — all the food, fowls, etc. Great comforts did [the people] offer [the Spaniards]; quite peaceably they entered among them and offered them all which they required — fodder for the deer, water, grains of maize, ears of green and of tender maize, boiled ears of green maize, tortillas of tender maize, boiled ears of tender maize, roasted ears of green maize, tamales of green maize; and slices of squash. They lavished and pressed these things upon them, gained their good will, and made friends with them.

And the people of Tliliuhquitepec who came there [with the Spaniards] had formed a bond with those of Teocalhueyacan; for those of Tliliuhquitepec were relatives and kin of those of Teocalhueyacan.[1] Teocalhueyacan had been the place from which those of Tliliuhquitepec had set forth and originated — their seat and residence. From that place they had gone forth and issued.

There [at Teocalhueyacan] they consulted among themselves, were of one mind, came to common conclusions, and agreed in a common determination to meet with and pray to the Captain — the god — and all the [other] gods: "They have come to reach their revered home here at Teocalhueyacan. Here we, the vassals, the men of Teocalhueyacan and of Tliliuhquitepec, offer our prayers and greetings. And may our lord hear! For Moctezuma and the Mexicans have greatly afflicted and troubled us. To our very noses they have brought misery, for this one

Inic cempoalli onchiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles acito Teucalhujacan: auh in quenjn qujnpaccacelique vmpa tlaca. 648

In teucalhujacan oncalacq̃ onmocalteniato in otócalpulco, çan cuel in onacito, aiamo vel nepantla tonatiuh:

auh in onacique, ça temac: moch mocencauh in jxquich qualonj in totoli. &c. cenca qujnpapaqujltique, çan ivian intlan oncalacque, ixquich qujnmacaia in jxquich qujmjtlanjliaia, in maçatlaqualli, in atl, in tlaolli, in elotl, in elotzoyuhquj, in elopacaxtli, in elotlaxcalli, in xilopacaxtli, in eloixcalli, in elotamalli: yoan in aiotlatlapanalli, qujntlanenectiaia, qujntlanenequjltiaia, qujnnomocnjuhtique, onmocnjuhtlaque. 648 262

Auh in tliliuhqujtepeca, vncã vallaque, qujmõneloco in teucalhujaque: ichica ca in tliliuhqujtepeca incotonca ioan invaniolque in teucalhujaq̃ in tliliuhqujtepeca, inqujzcã iniolcan, inquechtetzon yioncan in teucalhujacan, vncã qujzticate, 648

vncã monotzque vncan qujcemjtoque, vncã qujcentlalique in intlatol, qujnepanvique, centlamãvique in innenonotzal, injc qujnamjcque, injc qujtlatlauhtiquej in capitan in teutl, yoan in ie mochintin teteu, ca omaxitico in inchantzinco in njcã teucalhujacan, ca njcan tictotlatlauhtilia, tictocnjuhquechilia in timacevalhoã, in titeucalhujaque, yoan in Tliliuhqujtepeca: yoan ma qujmocaqujti in totecujo. Ca in motecuçoma yoã in mexicatl, ca cenca otechtolinj, otechtlaciavilti, vel toiacacpa oqujqujxti in netolinjliztli: ca inqujch inin techtequjtia in tlacala-

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "y [illegible] los [illegible] de [illegible] que se [illegible] de la guerra [illegible] con los de [illegible] porque eran todos parientes y desde pueblo de Teocalhueyacan [illegible] a poblar a Tlaxcalla." The connection is shown in Pedro Carrasco Pizana: Los otomíes (México: Instituto de Historia, 1950), p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

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648 hath laid all manner of tribute upon us. But this [Moctezuma] is our lord and our ruler. And if [the gods] hasten to quit us — for the Mexicans are inhuman and very unrighteous — if [the gods] quickly leave us, if they stay away long, [the Mexicans] will return; they will come back here. The Mexicans have not made an end of and destroyed us. But great is their evil; they are full of sin."

And when Marina had informed the Captain of these words, he then answered them: "Let them not be grieved. I shall not tarry; shortly shall I return and speedily shall I find them. Here will be the ruling: here will be the place of governing. The Mexicans will be destroyed, so that they shall not harm you."

And when the people of Teocalhueyacan heard this, they rejoiced greatly. They became proud and haughty because of it. Behold, they therefore rose up and held themselves as better than others, as if they knew all. The more they listened foolishly, the more they were vainly presumptuous; as if then they had lost fear. They took this to be true; they thought that this was already so.

And when this was over, and they had slept, when
[534 it was still deep night, flutes were blown, they
201] sounded the muted flutes and the wooden whistles,[2]
and drums were beaten. War drums were sounded. Then the Spaniards all arose and got up, and arrayed themselves. And after this, then they departed and filled the road. They went crowding the road.

Then they went on to and reached Tepotzotlan. Before long, in good time, they quartered themselves [there]. Only a short distance had they marched. And the people of Tepotzotlan then scattered and departed, fleeing from them and entering the forest. Some climbed the mountain; some [went into] the gorge. [The town] was quite abandoned to the Spaniards.[3] None dealt with them, because very great were they in destruction of men. Therefore they took flight and ran off. Only their bodies did they save. And all their goods they scattered in haste; they dropped them in their hurry. [The Spaniards] entered the palace; they went into the palace to quarter themselves. There they slept, being all together, all crowded and heaped together. For they were quite frightened; they went in fear.

qujli: auh inin ca toecujo ca totlatocatzin. Auh intla techmocavilitiquj̧ça ca tlacatl in mexicatl, vellaveliloc, intla techmocavilitiquj̧çaz, intla movecavitiz, in oalmovicaz in valmocuepztinos, aotechtlamjqque, aotechpopoloque in Mexicatl: ca vel huei tlaveliloc, ca vel qujmaxilti injc tlaueliloc.

Auh in ocôcaqujti in Malintzin iǹ tlatolli in capitan: njmã qujnoalhuj. Macamo motequjpacho.ñ camo njvecaoaz, iciuhca njoallaz, iciuhca njqujnmatiqujuh, njcan tlatoloz, njcan tlatoloian iez, popoliviz in Mexicatl, macamo amechiolitlacocan.

Auh in ciuh qujcaque in teucalhujaque cenca papacque, ic aatlamatque, ic cuecuenotque, iz ic moquetzque, ic moichoatocaque, qujmolhujltocaque, ilhujz iuhqujn mocacaq̃ ilhujz iuhqujn aatlamati, iuhqujn vncã motlatlalia iniollo moneichiuhque, ie om ma nelli iuh momatque.

Auh inic iuhquj in ocuchque oc veca iovan in ie tlapitzalo, in qujpitza quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapitztli, yoan tlatzotzonalo, iautlatzotzonalo: ie ic necoalo, meeva in Españoles, nechichivalo; Auh in ie iuhquj, ie ic onevalo neutemalo, pepexocatiuh in vtli:

njmã ic onacito in tepotzotla, aia vel quẽman oc qualcan in ommotlalito, çan achi qujtocatiaque: auh in tepotzoteca njman ic tzomonque olinque, ic choloque, quauhtlacalacque: cequjntin tepetl qujtlecavique: cequjntin atlauhtli, çan inpan macauh in Espanoles, aiac inca muchiuh: iehica ca cenca vei in intepololiz, ipampa mochololtique, mocholtique: çan inquech in innacaio qujmaqujxtique: auh in inqujch in intlatquj qujtepeuhtiquj̧que, çan iuh tlacauhtiquj̧que: tecpan in oncalacque, onmotepancaltemato, vncã cochque, çan cenietivi, çan cemololiuhtivi, çan centepeuhtivi: iehica ca çan mauhcavi, çan momauhtitivi.

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[2] Quauhtlapitzalli, quavilacapitztli: cf. Eduard Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), II, Pt. 3-4, p. 143; Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), I, p. 121.

[3] *Espanoles*: the tilde is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

And when the dawn broke, at a good hour, all ate and broke their fast. When they had broken their fast, when they had eaten their breakfast, then they arose and set forth on the road. [Those of Tepotzotlan] shouted war cries after them from a distance, from afar. Only holding their distance did they shout at them. And if any dared come up to them, as if one were to speak to them, [the Spaniards] lanced them. Once and for all the Spaniards speared them. No longer did they stir; none escaped; none saved the speared one.

Then they proceeded to and reached Citlaltepec, to rest [there]. But the land was abandoned to them; the folk did not await them.[4] And the chieftains and the people of that place, the householders, showed themselves no more, but only hid. They skulked behind things—perhaps rock cacti,[5] or maguey plants, or a knoll, or a cliff. For [the Spaniards] were not to be opposed.—There also they slept.

And when the dawn broke, in good time, when it was already warm and mild, thereupon [the Spaniards] ate. And then once again they set forth and proceeded to Xoloc. In the same manner, it was abandoned to them. No one awaited them with even a little. Quite hurriedly the houses had been abandoned. No one was there to come out to [the foe]. They had hidden above, on top of Mount Xoloc. Watch was kept on all sides, that nowhere [the Spaniards] might be hidden on a terrace, in a gorge, or in an abyss. They were afraid, in dread, lest they be seen by their foe, lest without warning they set upon them.

And when dawn broke, when they were about to depart, set forth, and go on their way, they thereupon ate. Then they set out. In two files, on each side of the road, marched the deer bearing men upon their backs, called horses. And all the burden-bearers marched within [the files], crowded together.[6] And as they ended their march, they then set and laid fire to the Otomí temples, and to all the temples, houses of the demons. Then they burned; the fire roared. The blaze, the tongues and flames of fire, and the smoke arose. Smoke spread out and

Auh in otlatvic, in ie achi qualcã: njman ie ic tlatlaqua, quiqua in inneulhca: in omoneulhcaiotique, in oconquaque in inneulhca: njmã ic oneuhque, ie ic vtlatoca, quimjcavatza, ça veca, ça vecapa, ça quinvalhuecapavia, in quinvalicavatza. Auh intla ça acame motlapaloa in intech onaci, iuhquin aquin ontlatoltia in q'avalixili, çan ie cenvi in quimjxili, aocmo valmoquequetzaoa aocac quiça, aocac quiquixtia in quixili:

njmã ic onacito in citlaltepec, onmotecato, çã no tlalcaviloque, amo quinmochieltique in macevalti. Auh in tiacaoan, in vncã tlaca, in chaneque, aocmo valmjxnamana, ça motlatia, itla quimotoctia, aço tenopalli, aço metl, aço tlaltepevalli, anoço texcalli: ichica ca amo ixnamjquiztin, no vncã cochque.

Auh in otlatvic, ie achi qualcan, ie tlatotonjc, in ie tlaiamanja: njman ie ic tlatlaqua, njman ie ic no ceppa vmpeoa, ommjquania xoloc: çan ie no ivi, inpan macauh, aocac in ma nel ça çe ton, quinmochielti, vel cacactiveta in calli, aiac in-ma ivic quiz: tlacpac in motlatique, icpac in tepetl xoloc: noviampa vallachielo, acã motlatique tlapechian, tlacomulco, anoço atlauhco, ie quimmacacia, ie quinmauhtia, in ma amo quimjmachititi in inisuvan, in maca innemachpan icpã valcholoti.

Auh in otlatvic in ie iazque, in ie oneoazque, in ie ondiaiaque: njman ie ic tlatlaqua: ie ic vmpeoa, necoc omac onotivi, in mamaça in intemamacaoan, intoca cavallome: auh in ixquich tlamama çan tlatic onotivi, ololiuhtivi. Auh in ontlanque in vi: nec contlequechia, contlemjna, contlecavia in otonteucalli, yoan in ixquich teucalli, in incal tlatlacateculo, nec tlatla, cuecuetlaca: in tlecueçallutl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecocomochtli poctlevatoc, poctli mantoc, poctli moteca. Auh in iquac ie iativi, quimjcavatztivi in macevaltin, çan vecapa:

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[4] According to Siméon, op. cit., [illegible] implies that the foe is awaited with courage.

[5] Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 228.

[6] Corresponding Spanish text: *"yuan por el camino, en dos renglas, los de cauallo: y todos los de a pie, y los que lleuauã cargas, yuan en medio de los de cauallo."*

648 settled. And as they went marching, the common folk set out shouting war cries after them, but from a distance.

Then they stopped at Áztaquemecan, at the base and foot of Mount Aztaquemecan. There, below, they rested, at a place called Çacamulco. Also above [346] was a rounded hill, where likewise there was an Otomí temple.[7] There they went to quarter themselves. Likewise it was abandoned to them. No more did the common folk draw near to them; but everywhere the houses remained quiet. They had abandoned the houses in haste.

njman ic ommotlalito in Aztaquemecan: icxitlan itzintlã in ichoatl tepetl Aztaquemecã, in vncan motlalique tlatzintlan: itocaiocan çacamulco, no tlacpac, ololtontli in tepetl: no vncan icac otontecucalli, oncan in õmocaltemato, çan no impan macauh aocmo impan acito in macehualtin, çan novian cactoc in calli, cacactivetz in calli.

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[7] Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), IV, p. 78.

726 Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.

726 ●648 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochimilco, Mizquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itztapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

415 431 2.2 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them devices and shields, and they gave them each chocolate. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omei capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn chinanpaneca in Suchmjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jtztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in qujnpalevizquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in iehoantin suchmjlca, cujtlaoaca mjxqujca, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, qujnonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoã in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: qujmjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic ixtlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca oallaque, ocenqujçaco in quauhtli ocelutl in acaltica: ca qujl axcã qujcentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzque njman ie ic qujmjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanqujmjhiovilt̃ique, oanqujmociaviltique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiieicavi:

njman ie ic qujntlauhtia, qujnmaca in tlavizt̃li, in chimalli, yoan qujncacacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in qujnmacaque cacaoatl: njmã ie ic qujmjlhuja. tlacuelcoatl, tla tlaiieicavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in qujnvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in ixqujcan vtlica: njman ie ic necalioa.

Auh in iehoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmã ie ic tenamoia, qujnnamoxque in cioatzitzinti, yoan in pipiltzitzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'mmjctique vncan ihiotl qujz. Auh in oc cequjntin amo qujnmjctique, çan ivian acalco qujmontemovique.

Auh in ie iuh qujchioa inin ie tenaoalpoloa: njman ic tzatzique in tequjvaque, qujtoque. Mexicae tlein ic qujchioa in, tlaveliloque? ma vallatotoca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, qujntoca acaltica.

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728

Forty-first Chapter, in which are told the words with which Don Hernando Cortés addressed the rulers of all the cities, here in Mexico, in Texcoco, and in Tlacopan, when the shields had been stilled, and [how] he questioned them as to the gold which [the Spaniards] had in haste scattered there at the Tolteca canal, when they escaped and fled from Mexico.

Thereupon the Marquis, the Captain, addressed the rulers. He said to them: "What of the gold which was stored in Mexico?" On this, all the gold was taken from the boats — the golden banners, the golden conical caps, the golden arm bands, the golden bands for the calf of the leg, the golden hoods, the golden discs. All [these] they had laid out before the Captain, [and] indeed all of it the Spaniards had taken up.

Then, the Captain said: "Is this all the gold which was stored in Mexico? Have you brought all of it forth?" For our lords sought it diligently.

Then Tlacotzin spoke: "May our lord, the god, hear! That which was brought to our palace we walled up, all of it, with adobes. Did not, in truth, our lords take it all with them?"

Then Marina said to him: "The Captain saith, 'It is so. We took all of it. All was gathered together, and all was marked. And they caused us to cast away all of it there at the Tolteca canal, there where they all set upon us. They must bring forth all!'"

Thereupon the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin answered: "May the god, the Captain, hear! The men of Tenochtitlan rise not [to battle] in boats; it is not their wont. Only the men of Tlatilulco have made it their way of doing. In boats they gave battle and set forth to stem the advance of our lords. Did not in truth those of Tlatilulco take it all?"

After this Quauhtemoc spoke and said to the ruler's vicar: "What dost thou say, O ruler's vicar? Even if the men of Tlatilulco took it, were not the guilty imprisoned therefore? Did they not produce all of it? Was it not gathered together at Texopan? And what took our lords with them [if] not this?" Quauhtemoc pointed to the gold with his finger.

Inic ompoalli oce capitulo vncã mjtoa in tlatolli injc quinnonotz do hernando Cortes in jxquichtin altepetl ipã tlatoque in njcan Mexico: auh tetzcuco, tlacuba, in jquac ie omoman chimalli, in quintemolia in cuztic teucujtlatl, in vncan quiçoçoxtiquique tulteca acaloco, in jquac quiçaque, choloque mexico.

Niman ie ic quinnonotza in Marques in Capitan in tlatoque: quimjlhuja. Catli in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico: njman ie ic vallaquixtilo in acalco in jxquich in teucujtlatl, in teucujtlapanjtl, in teucujtlacopilli, in teucujtlamatemecatl, in teucujtlacotzevatl, in teucujtlaquaacalalatli, in teucujtlacomalli: muchi ixpan contecaque in capitan, çã much ichoan in Españoles in vallaquixtique:

njman ie ic quitoa in Capitan, çan ie ixquich in in teucujtlatl? in omopiaia Mexico, muchi anquinextitiaque? ca vel quitemoa in totecujovan:

Nimã ie ic ontlatoa in Tlacutzin. Tla quimocaquiti in totecujo in teutl, ca oipan maxitico in totecpan, ca much ticçaçantzacque, amo nel much quimotquilique in totecujovan?

njman quivalito in Malintzin, quimjtalhuja in Capitan, Quemaca ca much ticcujque, muchi omocentlali, yoan muchi omumachioti: auh ca much techtlaçaltique in vncã tulteca acaloco, much oncã techtepevaltique, much quinextizque:

njmã ie ic tlanãquilia in Cioacoatl tlacutzin, tla quimocaquiti in teutl in Capitã. Ca vel acalco moquetza in tenuchcatl, ca amo ichivil, ca çan incixcavil quichivh in tlatilulcatl, in acaltica tlaiecoque, in quijnacatzacujlito in totecujovã amo nel ichoantin muchi quicujque in tlatilulca:

njmã ie ic vallatoa in Quauhtemoctzin: quivalilhuj in Cioacoatl, tlein tiquito Cioacoatle: maço quicujq in tlatilulca, amo ic çaçacoque in tlamaceuhque? amo muchi quinextique? amo texopan in monechico? auh tlein oquimocujlique in totecujovan amo ichoatl in? conmapilhuj in teucujtlatl in Quauhtemoctzin:

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728 Then Marina spoke to him: "The Captain saith, 'Is this all?'"

Then the ruler's vicar spoke: "Perchance some commoner took it. But it will be sought; our lord the Captain will behold it."

Then once again Marina spoke: "The Captain saith, 'Ye will find all two hundred [pièces] of gold.'" She measured off [the size] with her hands; her hands described a circle.[1]

Again the ruler's vicar answered; he said: "Doubtless some poor woman put it in her skirt. It shall be sought out. He shall behold it."

Upon this the chief justice Auelitoctzin spoke; he said: "May the lord, our lord Captain, hear! When Moctezuma yet was [alive], when somewhere there was to be a conquest, the men of Mexico and of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca and the Acolhua, moved together. All the Tepaneca, all the Acolhua, and all the dwellers in the swamp lands — we set out together when we conquered. And when the city fell, thereupon all turned back. Each man returned to [his] city. And thereafter came the masters of the city, the conquered ones. They brought their tribute, which had become the goods of [the victors]: green stone, gold, quetzal feathers, and the other precious stones — fine turquoise; and blue cotinga feathers, and red spoonbill feathers. They offered this to Moctezuma. All together it reached there. All together, there to Tenochtitlan, came all the tribute, all the gold."

njmã qujvalilhuj in Malinczin qujmjtalhuja in capitan. Çan ie inqujch in?

njman ic conjto in ciuacoatl, aço aca quiqujxti in Macevalli, atel motlatemoliz, a qujmottiliz in totecujo in capitan:

njmã ie no ceppa qujvalito in Malintzin, qujmjtalhuja in Capitan Matlacpoalli anqujnextiliquje in teucujtlatl inqujch in: qujvaltamachiuh imatica, qujvalievallali in jma:

ie no ceppa ontlananquili in civacoatl: qujto. Aço ça aca ipan mocuecti in civatzintli, a motemoliz, a qujmottiliz:

njman ie ic ontlatoa in Mixcoatlailotlac, avelitoctzin: qujto. tla qujmocaqujti in tlacatl in totecujo in Capitan, in oc vnca Motecuçoma, in jquac ontepevaloia cana, ca cemolinj in Mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, in tepanecatl in aculhoa: in jxqujch tepanecatl, in jxqujch aculhoa yoan in jxqujch chinampanecatl, ca ticemolinj, in tontepeva: auh in onia altepetl, ca njmã ie ic valnecuepalo, ceceniaca cõmati in jmaltepeuh. Auh çatepan valhuj in altepevaque in ie pevalloca, qujvalitquj in intlacalaqujl, intlatquj valmochiuhtiuh in chalchivitl in teucujtlatl, in quetzalli yoan in oc cequj tlaçotetl, in teuxivitl, in xiuhtototl, in tlauhquechol: qujtlamacaia in Motecuçoma, çan cê vmpa valaci, çã vmpa valmocemaci in tenuchtitlan in jxqujch tlacalaqujli in teucujtlatl.

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[1] Corresponding Spanish text: [illegible]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that [2] Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is [10] the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end ||4 of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de* 28 *Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* 211 is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns— [251] ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

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[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the [648] Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Tezcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Alahuiztlan had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans. Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list. 632 [317] 131

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan. The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described. [712]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18ʳ) as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma. [712]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting. Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan [648]

PNE, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese xente en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espunable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Koer, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

"Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenían, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechuacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

"Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

"Trayan gerras con los de Mechoacan y Axochitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

"Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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OTHER GOODS

... cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. CTZICOAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling) is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54ʳ). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coxcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

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131 *Coxcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancanhuitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

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[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.

[10] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 123, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

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Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, 632 is another difficult problem. Meade[16] would locate it in or near the 131 present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[17] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had [645] ● Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[18]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant"[19]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the con- [175] quest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[20] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though [114] recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica 635 could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco 648 and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em- 197

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[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

[17] *La provincia de Tzicoac* (1947), pp. 36–42.

[18] *PNE*, 6: 183–192.

[19] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tzicoac* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.

[20] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

635 648 197 105 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in recent times, at least) in the south.[26] The Huaxtec people, generally speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[27] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> ... they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored ... they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists ...

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. ..."[28]

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the independent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 103 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more properly known as "Cuextlan."[29] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[30] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[31]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[26] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[27] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[29] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[31] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of 632
Tlatlauhquitepec.[illegible] 131

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* … (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197
belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635
still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648
of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[illegible] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[illegible]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635
of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131
south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635
coac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103
part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651
cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[illegible] [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[illegible]
400 bundles of loincloths[illegible]
808 bundles[illegible] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[illegible]

[illegible] RHE, 1: 487.

[illegible] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1942), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación … de el Tajín …* (1943).

[illegible] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.

[illegible] Corrected from 800.

1/A [p.58.— Analyst] 2/A [p.56—Analyst]

632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[76] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[77]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[78]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[79] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

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[76] RHE, 1: 152.

[77] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.

[78] Cf. n. 82 below.

[79] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de tezcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

There is a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the 631
Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about 648
to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names 175
nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and [128]
Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. Chalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41ʳ of the *Codex* 635
Mendocino appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal 114
towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been [128]
identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP	[163]
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco	
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco	
Tepuzilan, 3	Tepoztlan	

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[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.

[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

29. TOCHTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in northeastern 635
Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on 114
another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matricule*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46ʳ. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two [128]
principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapã, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpã, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Toztlan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec
Ayoçintepec
Cuezcomatitlã
Michapan, 14 (?)
Michtlan
Teteutlan
Tzinacanoztoc
Xayaco
Xicaltepec
Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is 632
discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding 648
the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

It appears in the Ma-
632 648 [175] *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a Moteçuma,"[illegible] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it[1/a] was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[illegible] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[illegible] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 131 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province. One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[illegible] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[illegible]

632 712 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés show.[illegible] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[illegible]

632 131 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.

Yxmatlatlan appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[illegible] The chief language of the

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[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[illegible] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: "... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[illegible] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas; á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[illegible] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[illegible] *PNE*, 5: 2[illegible]: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[illegible] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[illegible] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[illegible] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

[1/a] [i.e., Chinantlan — Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chilteecpintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal 197
languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[2] and Quauhtinchan.[3] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[4]

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlax- 635
cala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other 131
three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire [648]
provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[5] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace.

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 635
1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears 175
in this zone on the Ortelius map of 15[illegible]. These towns are Epatlan,[6]

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[2] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[3] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexikanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (1937).

[4] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 5: No. 248.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648●
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic
powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[25] though we
know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[26]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to
the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. COAYXTLAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[27] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

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[25] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaço que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Monteçuma que era el Señor de México."

[26] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[27] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Besides the towns identified, many lesser subject towns, discovered 103 through sources other than the *Matrícula* and the *Mendocino* copy, should also be listed:

Atepec, 2
Coatlan, 33
Cuixtlan, 3[illegible]
Chichicapan, 30
Eztetlan (?), 13
Huiztepec, 15
Itzquintepec, 12
Iztepexi, 8
Miahuatlan, 31
Mictlan, 28
Ocelotepec
Quauxiloticpac, 14
Tecuicuilco, 5
Teotitlan del Valle, 23
Teotzacualco, 11
Teozapotlan, 25
Tlacolula, 27
Tlaliztacan, 20
Totomachapa, 16
Xaltianguisco, 4
Xilotepec, 17
Yoloxonecuilan, 1
Zenzontepec, 18
Çoquiapan, 7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atepec and three neighbors "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[illegible] 632

Coatlan, in some unspecified period, rebelled against its chief and sent ambassadors to Mexico to arrange its incorporation into the Empire.[illegible] Today the town seems to have broken up into a cluster of satellites, of which a rough center has been taken for the map.

Coyolapan, now Cuilapa, ought really to be called "Quacuyolapan"—if we are to trust the relación of that town.[illegible]

Chichicapan first belonged to Teozapotlan, but was fighting off attacks from Mixtec neighbors at the moment of the Spanish Conquest, [648] at which time its inhabitants settled matters by allying themselves with Moctezuma.[illegible]

Cuixtlan (32) warred with Tetiquipa to the south, and this may [648] possibly indicate the limits between the province of Coyolapan and the free Mixtec state of Tototepec.[illegible]

[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123. Tecuicuilco, Atepec, Çoquiapá, Xaltiango: "Todos estos quatro Pueblos Reconocian por Rey a monteçuma el qual los Abia conquistado Por fuerças de armas."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 123: "Este dicho pueblo y sus naturales en su antiguedad eran sujetos a vn caçique que se llamaba Coactzi ... hasta que les hizo çierto agrabio y se rebelaron contra el, y ... enbiaron parias a la çuidad de Mexico a Monteçuma ... el qual los recibyo debaxo de su anparo."

[illegible] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 22.

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 115.

[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 115.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the 632 proper spelling.

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Moctecuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[illegible]

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teozapotlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[illegible] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula*. [648]

Teotzacualco was a M[illegible]ec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma [illegible]w years before the Spanish invasion."[illegible]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional 632 seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, 648 in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teoza- 175 potlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[illegible] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[illegible] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican [651] garrison "only in order to be friendly."[illegible] Tribute is tribute.

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles biniesen, a Moteçuma."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 105.

[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto monteзuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[illegible] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[illegible] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE*, 4: 102: "... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula*; also, by the relación of Teticpac (*PNE*, 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Montoçuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula*.

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo avian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran

BOOK V.

THE MARCH TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

How we went to the City of Cholula,[1] and of the great reception which they gave us there.

ONE morning we started on our march to the city of Cholula and we took the greatest possible precautions, for, as I have often said, where we expected to encounter tumults or wars we were much more on the alert.

That day we went on to sleep at a 648
river which runs within a short league of Cholula, where there is now a stone bridge, and there they put up for us some huts and ranchos. This same night the Caciques of Cholula sent some chieftains to bid us welcome to their [262]
country, and they brought supplies of poultry and maize bread, and said that in the morning all the Caciques and priests would come out to receive us, and they asked us to forgive their not having come sooner. Cortés told them

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[1] Blotted out in the original "On the twelfth day of October in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen."—G. G.

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through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

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Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—"Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying 648
that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very 797
great power and held beneath his sway many great princes
and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to
give them warning, and command them not to worship [782
Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or 266]
practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to [838]
Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great
Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other
shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat

648 them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their
717 obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should
give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could
648 not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

721 After the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

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[1] *Acapillasen;* literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

us should be sacrificed before it, and that three nights ago 721
they had sacrificed seven Indians to it so as to ensure victory, which was promised them; but as the Idol was both evil and false, it neither had, nor would have power against us, and all these evil and traitorous designs which they had planned and put into effect were about to recoil on themselves. Doña Marina told all this to them and made them understand it very clearly, and when the priests, Caciques, and captains had heard it, they said that what had been stated was true but that they were not to blame for it, for the Ambassadors of Montezuma had ordered it at the command of their Prince.

Then Cortés told them that the royal laws decreed that 600
such treasons as those should not remain unpunished and that for their crime they must die. Then he ordered a musket to be fired, which was the signal that we had agreed upon for that purpose, and a blow was given to them which they will remember for ever, for we killed many of them,[1] so that they gained nothing from the promises of their false Idols.

Not two hours had passed before our allies, the Tlaxcalans, arrived, whom I have already said we had left out in the fields, and they had fought very fiercely in the streets where the Cholulans had posted other companies to defend the streets and prevent their being entered, but these were soon defeated. They [the Tlaxcalans] went about the city, plundering and making prisoners and we could not stop them, and the next day more companies from the Tlaxcalan towns arrived, and did great damage, for they [648]
were very hostile to the people of Cholula, and when we saw this, both Cortés and the captains and the soldiers, on account of the compassion that we had felt for them, restrained the Tlaxcalans from doing further damage, and

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[1] Blotted out: "and others were burned."—G. G.

Cortés ordered Cristóbal de Olid to bring him all the Tlaxcalan captains together so that he could speak to them, and they did not delay in coming; then he ordered them to gather together all their men and go and camp in the fields, and this they did, and only the men from Cempoala remained with us.

●648 Just then certain Caciques and priests of Cholula who belonged to other districts of the town, and said that they were not concerned in the treasons against us (for it is [665] a large city and they have parties and factions among themselves), asked Cortés and all of us to pardon the provocation of the treachery that had been plotted against us, for the traitors had already paid with their lives. Then there came the two priests who were our friends and had disclosed the secret to us, and the old woman, the wife of the captain, who wanted to be the mother-in-law of Doña Marina, as I have already related, and all prayed Cortés for pardon.

When they spoke to him, Cortés made a show of great anger and ordered the Ambassadors of Montezuma, who were detained in our company, to be summoned. He then said that the whole city deserved to be destroyed, but that out of respect for their Lord Montezuma, whose vassals they were, he would pardon them, and that from now on they must be well behaved, and let them beware of such affairs as the last happening again, lest they should die for it.

Then, he ordered the Chiefs of Tlaxcala, who were in the fields, to be summoned, and told them to return the men and women whom they had taken prisoners, for the damage they had done was sufficient. Giving up the prisoners went against the grain with them [the Tlaxcalans], and they said that the Cholulans had deserved far greater punishment for the many treacheries they had constantly received at their hands. Nevertheless as Cortés ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still 648 ● remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth, salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken.

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm would be done to them. They replied that within five days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it [643] was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique] so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until he should receive other orders.

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was 797 reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety, he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking the truth; let them remember the lies which they told only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil, he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves we would do it for them. He also ordered them to whitewash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there.

I must stop talking about this City and all that happened there, and say that the Squadrons sent by the Great Montezuma, which were already stationed in the ravines near Cholula and had, as was agreed, constructed barricades and narrow passages so that the horses could not gallop, as I have already related, as soon as they learned what had happened, returned, faster than at a walk, to Mexico and told Montezuma how it all happened. But fast as they went the news had already reached him, through the two Chieftains who had been with us and who went to him post-haste. We learned on good authority that when Montezuma heard the news he was greatly grieved and very angry, and at once sacrificed some Indians to his Idol Huichilobos, whom they looked on as the God of War, so that he might tell him what was to be the result of our going to Mexico, or if he would permit us to enter the city. We even knew that he was shut in at [787] his devotions and sacrifices for two days in company with ten of the Chief Priests, and that a reply came from those Idols which was, that they advised him to send messengers to us to disclaim all blame for the Cholulan affair, and that with demonstrations of peace we should be allowed to enter into Mexico, and that when we were inside, by depriving us of food and water, or by raising some of the bridges, they would kill us; that one day only would suffice, if he attacked us, to leave none of us alive, and then he could offer his sacrifices to Huichilobos who had given this reply, and to Tescatepuca the god of Hell, and they could feast on our thighs and legs and arms, and the snakes and serpents and tigers which they kept in wooden cages, (as I shall tell later on at the proper time and place,) could gorge on our entrails and bodies and all that was left of us.

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Let us stop talking about what Montezuma felt and say how this affair and punishment at Cholula became known throughout the provinces of New Spain and if we had a

● 648 reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Teules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

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246 I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

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[114] Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

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[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

797 that it never appeared again, and they have put up another Idol in its place. Let us leave this subject and I will relate what we went on to do.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

About certain messages and messengers that we sent to the Great Montezuma.

648 As fourteen days had already passed since we had come to Cholula we had nothing more to do there, for we saw that the city was again fully peopled, and that they held their markets, and we had established friendship between them and the people of Tlaxcala; and we had also set up a cross, and informed them about matters concerning our holy faith. But as we saw that the Great Montezuma was secretly sending spies to our camp to enquire and find out what our plans were and if we intended to go on to his city (for he came to know everything very thoroughly through the two Ambassadors who were in our company), our Captain determined to take counsel of certain captains and soldiers, whom he knew to be well disposed towards him (who besides being very valiant, were wise counsellors), because he never did anything without first asking our advice about it. It was agreed that we should send to tell the Great Montezuma, gently and amicably, that in order to carry out the purpose for which our Lord and King had sent us to these parts, (which was only to see him and tell him certain things which would be greatly to his benefit when he understood them), we had crossed many seas and distant lands, and that while we were marching towards his city, his ambassadors had guided us by way of Cholula, where they said the people were his vassals, and for the first two days after our arrival the people treated us very well, but on the next day they had

plotted a treason with the intention of killing us; and as 648 we are men of such character that it would be impossible to hide any matter of double dealing, or treachery, or iniquity, which they might wish to enact against us without our knowing of it at once, for this reason we punished some of those who intended to carry out the plot. As he [our Captain] knew that they were his [Montezuma's] subjects, [it was only] out of respect for his person, and on account of our great friendship, that he refrained from destroying and killing all those who were concerned in the treason. However, the worst of it all is that the priests and Caciques say it was on his advice and command, and that of his ambassadors, that they intended to do it. This of course we never believed, that such a great prince as he is could issue such orders, especially as he had declared himself our friend, and we had inferred from his character that since his Idols had put such an evil thought as making war on us into his head, he would surely fight us in the open field; however, whether he fought in the open or in a town, by day or by night, we would kill those who thought of doing such a thing. But as we look upon him as our great friend and wish to see and speak to him, we are setting out at once for his city to give him a more complete account of what Our Lord the King had commanded us to do.

When Montezuma heard this message and learned through the people of Cholula that we did not lay all the blame on him, we heard it said that he returned again with his priests to fast and make sacrifices to his Idols, to know if they would again repeat their permission to allow us to enter into the city or no, and whether they [187] would reiterate the commands they had already given him. The answer which they gave was the same as the first, that he should allow us to enter and that once inside the city he could kill us when he chose. His captains and

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648 priests also advised him that if he should place obstacles in the way of our entry, we would make war on him through his subject towns, seeing that we had as our friends the Tlaxcalans, and all the Totonacs of the hills, and other towns which had accepted our alliance, and to avoid these evils the best and most sensible advice was that which Huichilobos had given.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma had decided, and I will relate what he did about it and how we agreed to set out for Mexico, and that when we were ready to start messengers arrived from Montezuma with a present, and what he sent to say.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

How the Great Montezuma sent a present of gold, and what he sent to say to us, and how we decided to set out for Mexico, and what else happened about it.

So the great Montezuma again took counsel with his Huichilobos, and his priests and captains, and all advised him to allow us to enter the city, as there he could kill us in safety. When he heard the message which we sent to him concerning our friendship and the other fearless remarks, (to the effect that we were men from whom no treason which was plotted against us could be hidden without our finding it out, and that as for fighting, nothing suited us better, either in the open fields or in the towns, either by night or by day or in any way whatever) and as he had heard about our war with Tlaxcala, and knew of the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and Cingapacinga, and now about that at Cholula, he was dazed and even afraid. After much deliberation he despatched six chieftains with a present of gold and jewels of a variety of shapes which were estimated to be worth over two thousand dollars, and he sent certain loads of very rich mantles beautifully 648 worked.

When the Chiefs came before Cortés with the present they touched the ground with their hands and with great reverence, such as they use among themselves, they said—"Malinche, Our Lord the Great Montezuma, sends thee this present, and asks thee to accept it with the great affection which he has for thee and all thy brethren, and he says that the annoyance that the people of Cholula have caused him weighs heavily on him, and he wishes to punish them more in their persons, for they are an evil and a lying people in that they have thrown the blame of the wickedness which they wished to commit upon him and his ambassadors," that we might take it as very certain that he was our friend, and that we could go to his City whenever we liked, for he wished to do us every honour as very valiant men, and the messengers of such a great King as you say that he (your King) is. But because he had [361 nothing to give us to eat, for everything has to be carried 433] into the city by carriers as it is built on the lake, he could not entertain us very satisfactorily, but he would endeavour to do us all the honour that was possible, and he had ordered all the towns through which we had to pass to give us what we might need. He also made many other complimentary speeches. When Cortés understood them through our interpreters, he received the present with demonstrations of affection and embraced the messengers, and ordered them to be given certain twisted cut glass beads. All our captains and soldiers were delighted at such good news, as that he [Montezuma] should bid us to come to his city, for, from day to day, the greater number of us soldiers were wishing for it, especially those who had left nothing behind them in the Island of Cuba, and had been on the two expeditions of discovery before this one with Cortés.

648 Let us leave this subject and say that the Captain gave the Ambassadors a suitable and affectionate reply and ordered the messengers who had come with the present to remain with us as guides and the other three to return with the answer to their Prince, and to advise him that we were already on the road.

650 When the Chief Caciques of Tlaxcala, whom I have often mentioned before, named Xicotenga the elder and the blind, and Mase Escasi, understood that we were going, their souls were afflicted and they sent to say to Cortés that they had already warned him many times that he should be careful what he was about, and should refrain from entering such a strong city where there was so much war-like preparation and such a multitude of warriors, for one day or the other we would be attacked, and they feared that we would not escape alive, and on account of the good will that they bore us, they wished to send ten thousand men under brave captains to go with us and carry food for the journey.

Cortés thanked them heartily for their good wishes and told them that it was not just to enter into Mexico with such a host of warrors, especially when one party was so hostile to the other, that he only had need of one thousand men to carry the tepusques and the baggage, and to clear some of the roads, (I have already said that *tepusques* was the name they gave in these parts to the iron cannon which we carried with us) and they at once sent us the thousand Indians very well equipped.

Just as we were ready to set out, there came to Cortés, all the Caciques and all the principal warriors whom we had brought from Cempoala, who had marched in our company and served us well and loyally, and said that they wanted to go back to Cempoala and not to proceed beyond Cholula in the direction of Mexico, for they felt certain that if they went there it would be for them and for us to go to

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CHAPTER LXXXVII.

How the great Montezuma again sent other Ambassadors to us with a present of gold and cloths, and what they said to Cortés and what he replied to them.

AS we were starting on our march to Mexico there came 648 ● before Cortés four Mexican chiefs sent by Montezuma who brought a present of gold and cloths. After they had made obeisance according to their custom, they said —"Malinche, our Lord the Great Montezuma sends you this present and says that he is greatly concerned for the hardships you have endured in coming from such a distant land in order to see him, and that he has already sent to tell you that he will give you much gold and silver and chalchihuites as tribute for your Emperor and for yourself and the other Teules in your company, provided you will not come to Mexico, and now again he begs as a favour, that you will not advance any further but return whence you have come, and he promises to send you to the port a great quantity of gold and silver and rich stones for that King of yours, and, as for you, he will give you four loads of gold and for each of your brothers one load, but as for going on to Mexico your entrance into it is forbidden, for all his vassals have risen in arms to prevent your entry, and besides this there is no road thither, only a very narrow one, and there is no food for you to eat." And he used many other arguments about the difficulties to the end that we should advance no further.

Cortés with much show of affection embraced the Ambassadors, although the message grieved him, and he accepted the present; I forget how much it was worth, but, as far as I could see and understand, Montezuma never omitted to send gold, little or much, when he sent messengers, as I have already related. To return to our story, Cortés answered them that he marvelled how the Lord Montezuma, having given himself out as our friend, and being such a great Prince, should be so inconstant; that one time he says one thing and another time sends to order the contrary, and regarding what he says about giving gold to our Lord the Emperor and to ourselves, he is grateful to him for it, and what he sends him now he will pay for in good works as time goes on. How can he deem it befitting that being so near to his city, we should think it right to return on our road without carrying through what our Prince has commanded us to do? If the Lord Montezuma had sent his messengers and ambassadors to some great prince such as he is himself, and if, after nearly reaching his house, those messengers whom he sent should turn back without speaking to the Prince about that which they were sent to say, when they came back into his [Montezuma's] presence with such a story, what favour would he show them? He would merely treat them as cowards of little worth; and this is what our Emperor would do with us, so that in one way or another we were determined to enter his city, and from this time forth he must not send any more excuses on the subject, for he [Cortés] was bound to see him, and talk to him and explain the whole purpose for which we had come, and this he must do to him personally. Then after he understood it all, if our presence in the city did not seem good to him, we would return whence we had come. As for what he said about there being little or no food, not enough to support us, we were men who could get along even if we have but little to eat, and we were already on the way to his city, so let him take our coming in good part.

As soon as the messengers had been despatched, we set out for Mexico, and as the people of Huexotzingo and Chalco had told us that Montezuma had held consultations with his Idols and priests whether he should allow us to enter Mexico, or whether he should attack us, and all the priests had answered that his Huichilobos had said he was to allow us to enter and that then he could kill us, as I have already related in the chapter that deals with the subject, and as we are but human and feared death, we never ceased thinking about it. As that country is very thickly peopled we made short marches, and commended ourselves to God and to Our Lady his blessed Mother, and talked about how and by what means we could enter [the City], and it put courage into our hearts to think that as our Lord Jesus Christ had vouchsafed us protection through past dangers, he would likewise guard us from the power of the Mexicans. 648 ●

We went to sleep at a town called Iztapalatengo[1] where half the houses are in the water and the other half on dry land, where there is a small mountain, (and now there is an Inn there) and there they gave us a good supper. 361

Let us leave this and return to the Great Montezuma who, when his messengers arrived and he heard the reply which Cortés had sent to him, at once determined to send his nephew named Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, with great pomp to bid welcome to Cortés and to all of us, and as we were always accustomed to post sentinels and scouts, one of the scouts came in to tell us that a large crowd of friendly Mexicans was coming along the road, and that to all appearance they were coming clad in rich mantles. It was very early in the morning when this happened, and we were ready to start, and Cortés ordered us to wait in our quarters until he could see what the matter was. 648

At that moment four chieftains arrived, who made deep obeisance to Cortés and said that close by there was approaching Cacamatzin, the great Lord of Texcoco, a

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[1] This is clearly a mistake, the town was Ayotzingo.

648 nephew of the Great Montezuma, and he begged us to have the goodness to wait until he arrived.

He did not tarry long, for he soon arrived with greater pomp and splendour than we had ever beheld in a Mexican
[493] Prince, for he came in a litter richly worked in green feathers, with many silver borderings, and rich stones set in bosses made out of the finest gold. Eight Chieftains, who, it was said, were all Lords of Towns, bore the litter on their shoulders. When they came near to the house where Cortés was quartered, the Chieftains assisted
[643] Cacamatzin to descend from the litter, and they swept the ground, and removed the straws where he had to pass, and when they came before our Captain they made him a deep reverence, and Cacamatzin said—

"Malinche, here we have come, I and these Chieftains to place ourselves at your service, and to give you all that you may need for yourself and your companions and to place you in your home, which is our city, for so the Great Montezuma our Prince has ordered us to do, and he asks your pardon that he did not come with us himself, but it is on account of ill-health that he did not do so, and not from want of very good will which he bears towards you."

When our Captain and all of us, beheld such pomp and majesty in those chiefs, especially in the nephew of Montezuma, we considered it a matter of the greatest importance, and said among ourselves, if this Cacique bears himself with such dignity, what will the Great Montezuma do?

When Cacamatzin had delivered his speech, Cortés embraced him, and gave many caresses to him and all the other Chieftains, and gave him three stones which are called Margaritas, which have within them many markings of different colours, and to the other chieftains he gave blue glass beads, and he told them that he thanked them

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and when he was able he would repay the Lord Montezuma for all the favours which every day he was granting us. 648

As soon as the speech-making was over, we at once set out, and as the Caicques whom I have spoken about brought many followers with them, and as many people came out to see us from the neighbouring towns, all the roads were full of them.[1]

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad Causeway,[3] and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream? It is not to be wondered at that I here write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about. 361 [363]

Thus, we arrived near Iztapalapa, to behold the 648

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[1] Blotted out in the original—"So that we could not proceed and the Caciques themselves told their vassals to make room for us, and to remember that we were Teules, and that if they did not make room we would be angry with them. On account of these words that were said they cleared the road for us, and we went on to sleep at another town, which is built in the water, which I think was called Mezquique,[2] and was afterwards named Venezuela, and it had many whitened towers and Cues, and the Cacique and chieftains treated us with much honour and gave Cortés a present of gold and rich mantles, and the gold was worth four hundred dollars and Cortés gave them many thanks for it. There we told them things about our holy faith as we did in all towns we came to. It seemed that the people of that town were on very bad terms with Montezuma on account of the many injuries he had done them and they complained of them and Cortés told them that he would soon remedy their ills if it should please God that we should soon reach Mexico."

[2] Mexquic.

[3] The Causeway of Cuitlahuac separating the lake of Chalco from the lake of Xochimilco.

648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us,
who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the
Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma.
342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the
appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How
spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work
and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees,
with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered
with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the
orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to
see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the
diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one
had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many
fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water.
[501 There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were
able to pass into the garden from the lake through an
503] opening that had been made so that there was no need
for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and
very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with
pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then
the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the
pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought
that never in the world would there be discovered other
lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru,
nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then
beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left
standing.

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that
town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth
more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them
hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and
he told them through our interpreters things concerning

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[1] Coadlabaca in the text.

[2] Cuyuacan in the text.

our holy faith, and explained to them the great power of 648 ●
our Lord, the Emperor, and as there were was much other conversation, I will not repeat it.

I must state that at that time this was a very large town, 361
half of the houses being on land and the other half in the water, and now at this time it is all dry land and they plant [243]
corn where it was formerly lake, and it is so changed in other ways that if one had not then seen it, one would say that it is impossible that what are now fields planted with maize, could at one time have been covered with water.

I will leave off here and will tell of the solemn reception 000
given by Montezuma to Cortés and all of us when we entered the great city of Mexico.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

About the great and solemn reception which the Great Montezuma gave Cortés and all of us at the entering of the great City of Mexico.

EARLY next day we left Iztapalapa with a large escort of 363
those great Caciques whom I have already mentioned. We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and cues were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. It was not to be wondered at, for they had never before seen horses or men such as we are.

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what 361
to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on

361 one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we,—we did not even number four hundred soldiers! and we well remembered the words and warnings given us by the people of Huexotzingo and Tlaxcala and Tlamanalco, and the many other warnings that had been given that we should beware of entering Mexico, where they would kill us, as soon as they had us inside.

Let the curious readers consider whether there is not much to ponder over in this that I am writing. What men have there been in the world who have shown such daring? But let us get on, and march along the Causeway.
[363] When we arrived where another small causeway branches
● 648 off (leading to Coyoacan, which is another city) where there were some buildings like towers, which are their oratories, many more chieftains and Caciques approached clad in very rich mantles, the brilliant liveries of one chieftain differing from those of another, and the causeways were crowded with them. The Great Montezuma had sent these great Caciques in advance to receive us, and when they came before Cortés they bade us welcome in their language, and as a sign of peace, they touched their hands against the ground, and kissed the ground with the hand.

There we halted for a good while, and Cacamatzin, the Lord of Texcoco, and the Lord of Iztapalapa and the Lord of Tacuba and the Lord of Coyoacan went on in advance to meet the Great Montezuma, who was approaching[1] in a rich litter accompanied by other great Lords and Caciques, who owned vassals. When we arrived near to Mexico, where there were some other small towers, the Great Montezuma

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[1] Que venia cerca.

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got down from his litter, and those great Caciques 648 supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired 292 according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals 643 [*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think [576] of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was 576 approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted 643 from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they 648 simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

576 diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and
643 with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he
placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and
● 648 when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him,
and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma
held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace
him, for they considered it an indignity.

649 Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told
him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great
Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had
come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him
such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to
him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms,
the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacan, to go with
us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his
other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord
of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city,
and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains
[576] who had come with him returned in his train. As they
turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and
000 observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on
the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the
wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was
made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being
so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude
of men and women and boys who were in the streets and
on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come
out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am
writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it
had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over
it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ
was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

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[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

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into such a city; and for the many times He has saved 600
me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us 342
to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and [428
jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had 454]
inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us,
where there were great halls and chambers canopied with [352]
the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great 648
court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was
very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had [301]
at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

● 648 fastened, Cortés thanked Montezuma through our interpreters, and Montezuma replied—"Malinche you and your brethren are in your own house, rest awhile," and then he went to his palaces which were not far away, and we divided our lodgings by companies, and placed the artillery pointing in a convenient direction, and the order which we had to keep was clearly explained to us, and that we were to be much on the alert, both the cavalry and all of us soldiers. A sumptuous dinner was provided for us according to their use and custom, and we ate it at once. So this was our lucky and daring entry into the great city of Tenochtitlan[1] Mexico on the 8th day of November the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1519.

Thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ for it all. And if I have not said anything that I ought to have said, may your honours pardon me, for I do not know now even at the present time how better to express it.

Let us leave this talk and go back to our story of what else happened to us, which I will go on to relate.

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[1] Tenustitan in the text.

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BOOK VI.

THE STAY IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

How the Great Montezuma came to our quarters wtih many Caciques accompanying him, and the conversation that he had with our Captain.

•648 WHEN the Great Montezuma had dined and he knew that some time had passed since our Captain and all of us had done the same, he came in the greatest state to our quarters with a numerous company of chieftains, all of them his kinsmen. When Cortés was told that he was approaching he came out to the middle of the Hall to receive him, and [352] Montezuma took him by the hand, and they brought some seats, made according to their usage and very richly decorated and embroidered with gold in many designs, and Montezuma asked our Captain to be seated, and both of them sat down each on his chair. Then Montezuma began a very good speech, saying that he was greatly rejoiced to have in his house and his kingdom such valiant gentlemen as were Cortés and all of us. That two years ago he had received news of another Captain who came to

[p. 53]

●648 Chanpoton, and likewise last year they had brought him news of another Captain who came with four ships, and that each time he had wished to see them, and now that he had us with him he was at our service, and would give us of all that he possessed; that it must indeed be true that we were those of whom his ancestors in years long past had spoken, saying that men would come from where the sun rose to rule over these lands, and that we must be those men, as we had fought so valiantly in the affairs at Potonchan and Tabasco and against the Tlaxcalans; for they had brought him pictures of the battles true to life.

797 Cortés answered him through our interpreters who always accompanied him, especially Doña Marina, and said to him that he and all of us did not know how to repay him the great favours we received from him every day. It was true that we came from where the sun rose, and were the vassals and servants of a great Prince called the Emperor Don Carlos, who held beneath his sway many and great princes, and that the Emperor having heard of him and what a great prince he was, had sent us to these parts to see him, and to beg them to become Christians, the same as our Emperor and all of us, so that his soul and those of all his vassals might be saved. Later on he would further explain how and in what manner this should be done, and how we worship one only true God, and who He is, and many other good things which he should listen to, such as he had already told to his ambassadors Tendile, and Pitalpitoque and Quintalbor when we were on the sand dunes. When this conference was over, the Great Montezuma had already at hand some very rich golden jewels, of many patterns, which he gave to our Captain, and in the same manner to each one of our Captains he gave trifles of gold, and three loads of mantles of rich feather work, and to the soldiers also he gave to each one

797 belief for ages past, and for this reason we take it for
773 certain that you are those whom out ancestors predicted would come from the direction of the sunrise. As for your great King, I feel that I am indebted to him, and I will give him of what I possess, for as I have already said, two years ago I heard of the Captains who came in ships from the direction in which you came, and they said that they were the servants of this your great King, and I wish to know if you are all one and the same.

648 Cortés replied, Yes, that we were all brethren and servants of our Emperor, and that those men came to examine the way and the seas and the ports so as to know them well in order that we might follow as we had done. Montezuma was referring to the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and of Grijalva, when we first came on voyages of discovery, and he said that ever since that time he had wished to capture some of those men who had come so as to keep them in his kingdoms and cities and to do them honour, and his gods had now fulfilled his desires, for now that we were in his home, which we might call our own, we should rejoice and take our rest for there we should be well treated. And if he had on other occasions sent to say that we should not enter his city, it was not of his free will, but because his vassals were afraid, for they said that we shot out flashes of lightning, and killed many Indians with our horses, and that we were angry Teules, and other childish stories, and now that he had seen our persons and knew we were of flesh and bone, and had sound sense, and that we were very valiant, for these reasons he held us in much higher regard than he did from their reports, and he would share his possessions with us. Then Cortés and all of us answered that we thanked him sincerely for such signal good will, and Montezuma said, laughing, for he was very merry in his princely way of speaking: "Malinche, I know very

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well that these people of Tlaxcala with whom you are such good friends have told you that I am a sort of God or Teul, and that everything in my houses is made of gold and silver and precious stones, I know well enough that you are wise and did not believe it but took it as a joke. Behold now, Señor Malinche, my body is of flesh and bone like yours, my houses and palaces of stone and wood and lime; that I am a great king and inherit the riches of my ancestors is true, but not all the nonsense and lies that they have told you about me, although of course you treated it as a joke, as I did your thunder and lightning."

Cortés answered him, also laughing, and said that opponents and enemies always say evil things, without truth in them, of those whom they hate, and that he well knew that he could not hope to find another Prince more magnificent in these countries, and that not without reason had he been so vaunted to our Emperor.

While this conversation was going on, Montezuma secretly sent a great Cacique, one of his nephews who was in his company, to order his stewards to bring certain pieces of gold, which it seems must have been put apart to give to Cortés, and ten loads of fine cloth, which he apportioned, the gold and mantles between Cortés and the four captains, and to each of us soldiers he gave two golden necklaces, each necklace being worth ten pesos, and two loads of mantles. The gold that he then gave us was worth in all more than a thousand pesos and he gave it all cheerfully and with the air of a great and valiant prince. As it was now past midday, so as not to appear importunate, Cortés said to him: "Señor Montezuma, you always have the habit of heaping load upon load in every day conferring favours on us, and it is already your dinner time." Montezuma replied that he thanked us for coming to see him, and then we took our leave with the greatest courtesy and we went to our lodgings.

something of his language might attend on him, and this 080 was very advantageous both for Montezuma and for us, for through this page Montezuma asked and learned many things about Spain, and we learned what his captains said to him, and in truth this page was so serviceable that Montezuma got to like him very much.

Let us cease talking about how Montezuma became 648 fairly contented with the great flattery and attention he received and the conversation that he had with us, and whenever we passed before him, even if it was Cortés himself, we doffed our mailed caps or helmets, for we always went armed, and he treated us all with politeness and distinction. Now I will give the names of those of Montezuma's captains who were punished by being burned, the principal one was Quetzalpopoca,[1] and the others were named, one of them Coate, and the other Quiavit, and I forget the name of the third, and it is not much use remembering their names. I may say that when the news of this punishment spread about throughout the provinces of New Spain, they were terrified, and the towns of the Coast, where they had killed our soldiers, returned again and rendered good service to the settlers who remained in Villa Rica. My interested readers who peruse these pages must have some respect for the great deeds we did in those days, first of all in destroying our ships, then in daring to enter so strong a city after receiving so many warnings that they would kill us when once they had us inside, then to have such great temerity as to seize Montezuma who was the King of the country in his own city and within his own palace, where he had such a numerous guard of warriors, then to dare to burn his captains in front of his palaces, and to place Montezuma himself in irons while the punishment was being carried out.

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[1] **Quauhpopoca (Orozco y Berra).**

Our Cortés and the other Captains and the Friar of the Order of Mercy were always paying court to him, and giving him pleasure in every way that was possible, and they joked with him, not in any way disrespectfully, and I may add that neither Cortés nor any of our Captains ever seated themselves until Montezuma sent for his rich chairs and told them [illegible] sit down, and in such things he was so considerate that we all had a great affection for him, for he was truly a great Prince in everything that we saw him do.

To go back to our story; sometimes they explained to him the matters touching our holy faith, especially the Friar, through the page Orteguilla, and apparently some of the good words entered his heart, for he listened to them with more attention than before. They also made him understand about the great power of our Lord the Emperor, and how many great princes from distant lands became his vassals and obeyed his commands, and they told him many other things that he was interested to hear. At other times, as I have said before, Cortés played Totoloque with him. And in such ways we were always paying him court, and he, as he was in no way niggardly, gave us every day jewels of gold and mantles.

I will now stop talking of this, and will go on with my story.

CHAPTER CI.

How the great Montezuma and many Caciques and chieftains of the territory gave their fealty to His Majesty, and what else happened about it.

WHEN Captain Cortés saw that those kinglets named by me were prisoners, and that all the cities were at peace, he said to Montezuma that, before we had entered Mexico, he [Montezuma] had twice sent to say that he wished to pay 648

●648 tribute to His Majesty, and that as he now understood about the great power of our Lord and King, to whom many lands pay tribute and taxes and many great kings are subject, it would be well for him and all his vassals to give him their fealty, for such is the custom, first to give fealty and then to give tribute and taxes. Montezuma replied that he would gather his vassals together, and talk to them about it. And within ten days nearly all the Caciques of that territory assembled together, but that Cacique who was most nearly related to Montezuma did not come. I have already said that he was reported to be very valiant, and in his bearing and body and limbs and in his face he clearly showed it. He was somewhat blustering, and at that time he was staying at one of his towns named Tula.

It was rumoured that the kingdom of Mexico would come to this Cacique on the death of Montezuma, and when they sent to summon him he replied that he did not wish to come, nor to pay taxes, for he was not able to keep himself with the income from his provinces. Montezuma was very angry at this reply, and at once sent some Captains to take him prisoner, but as he was a great Lord, and had many relations, he was warned of this and withdrew to his province where they were not then able to catch him.

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I must leave him now and state how, in the discussion that Montezuma held with the Caciques of all the territory whom he had called together, after he had made a speech without Cortés or any of us, excepting Orteguilla the page, being present, it was reported that he had told them to consider how for many years past they had known for certain, through the traditions of their ancestors which they had noted down in their books of records, that men would come from the direction of the sunrise to rule these lands, and that then the lordship and kingdom of the

Mexicans would come to an end. Now he believed, from 648
what his Gods had told him, that we were these men, and 787
the priests had consulted Huichilobos about it and offered up sacrifices, but their Gods would no longer answer them as they had been accustomed to do.

All that Huichilobos would give them to understand 648
was, that what he had told them before he now again gave as his reply, and they were not to ask him again, so that they took it to mean that they should give their fealty to the King of Spain whose vassals these Teules say that they are :—

"As for the present it does not imply anything, and as in time to come we shall see whether we receive another and better reply from our Gods, so we will act according to the time. For the present, what I order and beg you all to do with good will is to give and contribute some sign of vassalage, and I will soon tell you what is most suitable, and as just now I am importuned about it by Malinche, I beg that no one will refuse it. During the eighteen years that I have been your Prince, you have always been very loyal to me, and I have enriched you and have broadened your lands, and have given you power and wealth, and if at this present time our Gods permit me to be held captive here, it would not have happened, unless, as I have told you many times, my great Huichilobos had commanded it."

When they heard these arguments, all of them gave as an answer that they would do as he had ordered them, and they said it with many tears and sighs, and Montezuma more tearful than any of them. Then he sent a chieftain to say that on the following day they would give their fealty and vassalage to His Majesty. This was on the [1] day of the [1] month, in the year 1519.

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[1] Blank spaces left in the original,

648 Montezuma returned after this to talk about the matter with his Caciques, and in the presence of Cortés and our Captains and many of our soldiers, and of Pedro Hernández, Cortés's secretary, they gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they showed much emotion in doing so, and Montezuma could not keep back his tears. He was so dear to us and we were so much affected at seeing him weep, that our own eyes were softened and one soldier wept as much as Montezuma, such was the affection we had for him. I will leave off here, and say that Cortés and the Fraile de la Merced, who was very wise, were constantly in Montezuma's palace, trying to amuse him and to persuade him to give up his Idols.

Now I will go on.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS CII. AND CIII.

000 The description given by Bernal Díaz in Chapters CII. and CIII. of the expeditions sent in search of mines differs considerably from that given by Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor.

Cortés says that there were several expeditions. Bernal Díaz mentions only two—one under Gonzalo de Umbria, the other under Pizarro, neither of whom Cortés mentions by name.

316 317 Bernal Díaz quotes Montezuma as saying that gold was brought from a province named Zacatula, which is on the south coast ten or twelve days' journey from the city, and that the gold was collected in gourds in which the earth was washed, and Bernal Díaz himself gives Zacatula as the name of the town visited by Gonzalo de Umbria. The only Zacatula shown on the maps is situated on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. Placer gold-mining is still carried on in this neighbourhood, and Montezuma may have mentioned the place as a source of gold supply. However, there is no proof that Gonzalo de Umbria visited the Rio de las Balsas, for Cortés says nothing about an expedition in that direction, and mentions only expeditions to Cuzula (Sosola?), Tamazulapa, Malinaltepec, Tenis (Tanetze), and Tuxtepec, all places in the north-western part of the present State of Oaxaca, and he confirms this later on in the same

000 Ircio went to settle at Panuco. As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it, and will relate what each of the Captains sent by Cortés, accomplished, and will report how each returned with samples of gold.

CHAPTER CIII.

How the Captains returned whom our Cortés had sent to examine the mines, and take soundings of the harbour and river of Coatzacoalcos.

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THE first to return to the City of Mexico and to give an account of what Cortés had sent him to do was Gonzalo de Umbria and his companions, who brought a matter of three hundred pesos in grains which the Indians of a town named Zacatula had extracted before their eyes. According to Umbria's description, the Caciques of that province took many Indians to the rivers, and in vessels like small troughs they washed the earth and collected the gold. The gold came from two rivers, and they said that if good miners went and washed the earth as they did in the Island of Santo Domingo or the Island of Cuba, that these would prove to be rich mines. Umbria also brought with him two chieftains sent by the province, and they brought a present of gold made into jewels worth about two hundred pesos, and gave and offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and Cortés was as pleased with this gold as though it were thirty thousand pesos, for he now knew for certain that there were good mines, and he showed much affection to the chieftains who brought the present and ordered them to be given some green beads from Castile, and after friendly speeches they returned to their country well contented.

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Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spoken about. 648

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tochel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former [651 712]

648 chapter which treats of the subject. Let us go on to say that as soon as the Caciques of Coatzacoalcos understood what the object of Ordás was, they supplied him with many large canoes, and the Cacique Tochel himself and many other chieftains took soundings at the mouth of the river, and they found the depth to be three full fathoms in the shallowest place without counting the ebb.[1] A little further up the river there is room for large ships to navigate, and the higher up they went the deeper it became, and near a town which at that time was inhabited by Indians, there was room for carracks. When Ordás had taken the soundings, he went with the Caciques to the town, and they gave him some jewels of gold and a very beautiful Indian woman, and they offered themselves as servants of His Majesty, and they complained of Montezuma and of his garrison of warriors, and said that a short time before they had fought a battle with them near a small town, and that the people of that province had killed many of the Mexicans, and for that reason they now call the place where that battle was fought, Cuylonemiquis, which in their language means "where they killed the Mexican profligates."[2]

Ordás thanked them heartily for the honour he had received, and gave them some Spanish beads which he had brought for that purpose. Then he returned to Mexico and was joyfully received by Cortés and all of us, and he said there was good land for cattle and farming, and the port was convenient for the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, but it was far from Mexico, and there were great swamps there. For this reason we never had much confidence in this harbour for landing goods and trading with Mexico.

000 Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and

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[1] Sin la de Cayda, *i.e.*, at low water.

[2] "Putos."

Let us leave Ordás and speak of Captain Pizarro and his companions who went in the direction of Tustepec to look for gold and examine the mines. 316 317 Pizarro returned to make his report to Cortés accompanied by one soldier only, and he brought with him over one thousand pesos in grains of gold taken from the mines, and said that in the province of Tustepec and Malinaltepec and other neighbouring districts, he went to the rivers accompanied by many people who were sent with him, and they gathered a third part of the gold that he had brought, and they went high up in the hills to another province, that of the Chinantecs, and that when they reached their land, many Indians came out to meet them with arms, which were lances, much better than those we had, and bows and arrows and shields, and they said that not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them, but that the Teules should pass in and be welcome; so they went on, and the Mexicans were left behind and did not go any further. As soon as the Caciques of Chinanta understood what they had come for, they got together a large number of their people to wash for gold, and they took them to some rivers where they collected the rest of the gold which he had brought in twisted grains, and the miners said those were the most lasting mines as the gold was formed there. 648● Captain Pizarro also brought two Caciques from that country who came to offer themselves as vassals to His Majesty, and to secure our friendship they even brought a present of gold. One and all of those chieftains said many evil things of the Mexicans, who were so greatly hated in those provinces for the robberies they committed that they [the Chinantecs] could not bear the sight of them or the mention of their names.

Cortés received Pizarro and the chieftains whom he brought with cordiality, and he accepted the present which they gave him, (as it was so many years ago I cannot

648 remember its value,) and with agreeable speeches he promised to be a friend to the Chinantecas and to assist them. Then he told them to go back to their country, and, so that they should not be molested by the Mexicans on the road, he ordered two Mexican Chieftains to conduct them back to their country and not to leave them until they had seen them in safety; so they went away well contented.

600 To return to our story; Cortés, asked about the other soldiers whom Pizarro had taken in his company, namely, Barrientos and Heredia the elder and Escalona the younger, and Cervantes the Jester, and Pizarro replied that as that seemed to be a very good country and rich in mines, and the towns through which he passed were very peaceful, he ordered them to make a large farm of cacao and maize, and other farms besides for cotton, and told them to collect there many of the birds of the country, and that from that place they should go and examine all the rivers and see what mines there were. Although Cortés said nothing at the time, he was not pleased at his relation for having exceeded his instructions, and we heard that privately he scolded him well about it, and said that he was a poor character to wish to be employed about such things as breeding birds and planting cacao,[1] and he at once sent another soldier named Alonzo Luis to summon the rest whom Pizarro had left behind. Alonzo Luis carried a peremptory order for them to return at once, and what those soldiers did I will relate further on in its proper time and place.

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[1] Cortés does not fail to take great credit to himself in regard to the formation of these plantations when writing his second letter to the Emperor.

We have not the slightest reliable indication concerning the 701 *strength* and numbers of that force.[11] This point is as vague and indefinite as the number of the population of the pueblo itself. Both, being closely connected, suffer from the same contradictions and exaggerations.[12] It is true that a "guard" of 10,000 men is mentioned as having occupied always the square of the main temple ("teocalli").[13] But, aside from the grossly exaggerated numbers, "guards," in the sense of a military body doing permanent duty, were unknown to the Mexicans.[14] The scanty mention of a body guard of Montezuma appears an imaginary tale if we look for its presence where and when it should have been most conspicuous: at the meeting of Montezuma and Cortés on the causeway,[15] and when Cortés carried that chieftain away from his house as a hostage. It is an established fact, that only unarmed Indians [648] met Cortés on his entrance to Mexico, and it is equally positive, that no "guard" came to Montezuma's rescue.

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stores in sufficient quantities for such a purpose. Within the pueblo of Mexico there was no need of being armed, and therefore every Mexican went unarmed in the pueblo. The "guards" of which Gomara and Bernal-Diez both speak, never existed. See Gomara [114] ("En la ciudad nadie trae armas, ..." p. 345, vol. I, Vedia).

[11] Not even Bernal-Diez contains a statement. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," Relacion XIII*a*, in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, "De la venida de los Españoles," translated also into the French by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, and published under the title of "Cruautés Horribles des conquérants "du Mexique," in the first series of his inestimable collection of translations) says: "the Mexicans lost over 240,000 men" during the siege of Mexico. The only reasonable approximate I found in Durán (Hist. de las Indias, etc., cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288). Before the Mexicans (including Tezcuco and Tlacopan and the others of the valley) set out against Michhuacan, in 1479, they counted their forces and found 24,000 men ("allaron que auia veinte y cuatro mil combatientes"). This is possible.

[12] The population of Mexico is variously reported. The extremes are: 60,000 *souls* [161] ("sessanta mila habitatori") of the "Anonymous Conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Icazbalceta. Vol. I, p. 391), and 60,000 *families*.

[13] The length of the walls of that square was "one cross-bow shot," after Gomara. How could 10,000 *men remain there always*, besides the priests and their numerous assistants?

[14] "Guardas" are mentioned by Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva-España" in vol. II, of Sr. Vedia's collection, cap. XCV); by Gomara (p. 342 of vol. I, Vedia). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 544, vol. II), and others. But Cortés and Andrés de Tapia make no mention of them.

[15] Three eye-witnesses of that celebrated meeting have described it: Cortés ("Cartas de Relacion," in Vedia, I, "Carta Segunda," p. 25). Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 83), and Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tápia, sobre la conquista de Mexico," in vol. II, of Icazbalceta's Col. de Documentos, p. 578). Neither of them would have omitted to notice armed men among the Indians, had there been any with Montezuma.

The Mexicans, on their part, could not have failed to make an ostentatious display of armed soldiery, had they existed, when they met the armed strangers at the entrance to the pueblo.

701 [648] (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 701 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were maintained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

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[16] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. [643] Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II. p. 580.) The capture of Montezuma did not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia [651] says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that pur-
[231] pose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

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Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc. Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable.
[291] Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI, p. 318); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future 726
opportunity;[147] it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes, 648
whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico.*[148] Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,[149] calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.[150]

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,[151] still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.[152] The force,

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[147] It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

[148] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133): "Con Mexico estaban confederados "los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacòpan, que hora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que gana-"ban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the [554]
others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecuhtli." (Zurita, p. 11).

[149] This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the Cronica Mexicana, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

[150] When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinco-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 83). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 288). Axayacatl: "mandó partiese el exercito de "la ciudad y que en sus capitanias fuesen à los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que alli "se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos terminos de Matlatzinco y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,—"commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three "days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Meztitlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu-"raua la uncion y estar velando salvo sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la "gente que estuviese aperceuida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que alli "aguardasen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

[151] There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

[152] Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with *kindred* tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalca of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Anahuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a [631]
confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

726 therefore, that sallied out of Mexico was sure to find at the meeting-place appointed, numerous reinforcements from various tribes,
648 fully armed and equipped, with an organization similar to their own,[153] ready for the onward march, at the end of which, if successful, a certain share of human victims and of plunder would reward their efforts.[154]

As soon as the entire force was duly collected at the appointed meeting-place, it began to move forward speedily and swiftly, and in a straight line, if possible, towards the enemy's country. The various tribes, as well as their respective subdivisions, kept distinct from each other, led by their own native chiefs. The Mexicans were mostly in the rear. The approach of this body of warriors was not always pleasant to tributary or friendly settlements situated along the marchroute. These were expected to come out with reinforcements, with food and presents, and if any one of them failed or neglected to comply with these requisitions, it became exposed to the most barbarous violence. Such pueblos were sacked, plundered, the people ill-treated. In their fury the Mexicans sometimes went so far as to empty and destroy the stores of maize, and to kill wantonly the few domestic animals (dogs and fowls) of the unfortunate inhabitants.[155]

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[724] The tribute which the valley pueblos paid to Mexico may yet, perhaps, prove to have been more a religious offering than anything else. They were certainly more on terms of equality, whereas the foreign tribes were held in subjection proper. The word "popoluca," stammerers, applied by the Mexicans to those of the coast, and which has induced Clavigero to adopt the erroneous idea of a "Popoluca" language, shows the disdain and hatred nourished by tribes of different stock towards each other.

[153] Each tribe had to prepare its own arms and supplies, it remained under its own chiefs and captains. Tezozomoc and Durán both agree on this point. Their organization was essentially the same as that of the Mexicans. Everywhere in the valley, and even in Matlaltzinco, we find the characteristic division of the Mexicans,—the two head-war-chiefs, the four quarters, and the minor captains and braves.

[154] Ixtilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 273) says that Mexico and Tezcuco had each two-fifths, Tlacopan one-fifth, of the spoils. Tezozomoc claims three-fourths for Mexico alone. The point is yet in doubt. (Zurita, "Rapport, etc.," p. 12.)

[724] [155] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "The Mexicans never lacked food nor supplies," when on the march, since they "were so much feared by all the tribes, that as soon as "they arrived they were well received and treated. When their forces were on the "war-path neither man nor woman remained outside of their dwellings, out of fear of "the warriors, and if these perchance met any one, any laborer or trader, they robbed "him even up to his very clothes. Such tribes as did not go out to meet them they plun-"dered and robbed of everything, emptying their stores of maize, killing their fowls "and even their dogs." (Id. Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147.) Durán (Cap. XXI, p. 183): "porque "para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proueian de todo lo necessario, como tengo "dicho, so pena de ser destruidos." It thus appears that for the march the Mexicans did not have to provide any food, since the settlements along the route had to maintain

726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their 175 numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

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[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Ycpatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning. . . . . and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York," pp. 297-312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

648 [178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "porque los naturales della eran amigos de Mutecsuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mutecsuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Toluca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 85): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi"maroa, que dizen Tlazimoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Toluca se volvieron, viendo que su campo ño llegava: ai iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with archers, but no close combats are mentioned.

648 721 [180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in conflict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines. 726 712

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of*, *settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[181] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

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ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 465). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in these fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezozomoc. [648. 721]

[181] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la Salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an"cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebelin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. [illegible]. "El primer reencuentro que Cortés tobe con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

726 wards are of minor interest to us up to the time when the siege of
175 Mexico began. A rapid sketch of the events of this siege, however, should illustrate the *defensive* warfare of the Mexicans.

● 648 It is well known how, by a shrewd policy, as well as by able
175 strategy, Cortés succeeded in *dismembering*, rather than overpow-
726 ering, the Nahuatl confederacy of the valley of Mexico. He thus isolated the Mexican tribe proper, cut off its sources of reinforcement, and, above all, cut off its *subsistence*, by depriving it of tribute and barter. The time came at last when even those pueblos on the lake shores nearest to Mexico could not, or would not, any longer recognize friendly connections with their former military head. The surface of the water-sheet and the causeways were alone left to the tribe and to such additional warriors as had joined them in their abode, from the outside, to share their fate. As long as the lake could be freely navigated by Mexican canoes, any point of the mainland was exposed to attack by their warriors. Therefore Cortés launched his boats or "brigantines," which soon cleared Lake Tezcuco proper, driving the canoes to shelter in the narrow canals which ran all through the pueblo. His land forces occupied three out of the four issues of the causeways on the mainland. *Then* the Mexicans were effectually hemmed in, without any outlet beyond the limited circulation on the ponds lying west of the chief causeways. Cortés' first step was to seize Chapultepec, and to cut off the supply of fresh water running thence along the causeway to Mexico.[905] Thus deprived of drinking water, almost, since that of the lagune was not wholesome, with limited supplies of food only, the Mexican tribe was surrounded by human enemies *without*, whilst two of the greatest plagues of mankind, thirst and famine, were sure to threaten them, ultimately, *within*.

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[905] Mexico was provided with a constant supply of *fresh* water from Chapultepec. (Clavigero, Lib. VII, Cap. LIV.) The channels were constructed of stone, five feet high, and two *feet* broad (Cortés, "Carta Segunda"). It was one of the first moves of Cortés to seize the spring supplying these channels. The Mexicans, feeling the importance of the action, defended the position desperately. (Bernal-Diez. Cap. CL, p. 176.) "Acor-
"damos que entrambas capitanias juntas fuésemos à quebrar el agua de chapultepeque
"de que se proveia la ciudad, que estaba desde alli de Tacuba aun no media legua.
"E yendo à los quebrar los caños, toparonnos muchos guerreros, que nos esperaban en
"el camino; porque bien entendido tenian que aquello habia de ser el primero en que
"los podiamos dañar; y asi como nos encontraron cerca de unos pasos malos, comen-
"zaron à nos flechar y tirar vara y piedra con hondas, é nos hirieron à tres soldados;
"mas de presto les hicimos volver las espaldas, y nuestros amigos los de Tlascala les
"siguieron de manera, que mataron véinte y prendieron siete ò ocho dellos; y como
"aquellos grandes escuadrones estuvieron puestos en huida, les quebramos los caños
"por donde iba el agua à su ciudad, y desde entonces nunca se fué à Mejico entre tanto
"que duró la guerra." (Also Cortés. 1 Carta III, p. 71.)

114 that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock,
174 speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

174 While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

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[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquiraus of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340-348).

648 [18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical.—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

131 [19] See "Art of War," p. 135. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III. p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time. and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

226 [20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlaca." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacatl," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Azteca" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.

ment of the Mexican tribe.[49] Nearly at the same time also, the Mexicans felt the necessity of opening communications with the tribes inhabiting the shores of the great marsh in the midst of which they were living,—in order to obtain some of the commodities produced or held by these tribes. Strong enough for *defence*, but too weak yet for *offence*, the Mexicans approached cautiously their nearest and most powerful neighbors, the Tecpanecas, with the view of securing permission to trade and barter, also for the purpose of obtaining the use of one of the springs of the mainland. This permission was granted, on condition that the Mexicans should pay a certain tribute. This was, however, no kind of feudal prestation, not being in the least connected with the tenure of the soil or occupancy of the territory,—but simply like unto a toll or tax placed on the faculty of barter. The further condition of military assistance being, in all likelihood, also exacted, the Mexicans thus became, not the subjects as it is commonly stated, but the weaker allies of the Tecpanecas.[50]

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[49] We have previously alluded (note 22), to the fact that, anterior to Acamapitzin, the series of Mexican head-chiefs appear broken, whereas from the latter onward the office is reported as having been regularly filled. From that time on the term "palacio," as *connected with the office*, appears in the Spanish historians. See Durán, Tezozomoc, Acosta and Torquemada. (Especially "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 96).

[50] All the authors agree upon the *fact* that the early life of the Mexican tribe on the site of Tenuchtitlan was one of secluded poverty, even of misery. See especially Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93). "In this place they settled ("se ranchearon") erecting poor and small habitations, surrounded by canes and grasses, called by them Xacalli, . . . where they spent their life miserably, the place being poor and destitute, and as people abandoned and poor, persecuted by all the inhabitants of the mainland, they subsisted upon roots of Tulli and other herbs, which grew on the place and on its surroundings." Then they began to fish. (See also Tezozomoc, cap. III. Durán, cap. V. Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. XVII. Sahagun, Lib. X, cap XXIX, pp. 145 and 146. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142). Durán and Tezozomoc both assert, that their first step, when the population began to increase, was to seek for traffic, which could only be secured through some kind of connection with their nearest and most warlike neighbors, which at that time were the Tecpanecas. ("Hist. de las Yndias de Nueva España," cap. V, pp. 41 and 42. "Empero juntandose todos en consējo ovo algunos que fueron de parecer que con mucha omildad se fuesen à los de Azcaputzalco y á los Tepanecas, que son los de Cuyuacan y Tacuba, y que se les ofreciesen y diesen por amigos y se les subjetasen con intencion de pedilles piedra y madera para el edificio de su ciudad . . . ." "Crónica Mexicana," cap. III, p. 9. It was finally agreed to barter, with as little concession as possible on their part). Most of the other authors have transformed this alliance with the Tecpanecas into a feudal allegiance, resulting from the occupation of the soil and from intermarriage. Both are disproved by Durán (Cap. V, p. 41: "pues era sitio y termino de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque alli llegaban los terminos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del mediodía, terminos de Culhuacan; . ." "y que como señores ya de aquel sitio, sin hacer buz ni reconocer subjecion à ninguno, pues su dios les avia dado aquel sitio, fuesen y comprasen piedra y madera, etc., etc.") and Tezozomoc (Cap. III, pp. 9 and 10).

Even Torquemada acknowledges the *fact*, that the Mexicans were originally independent (Lib. II, cap. XI), and that they were connected with the Tecpanecas through trib-

Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, 648
not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, 439
for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these [574
visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the
tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being 609]
the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[51]

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ate (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta, Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 109. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 236, 237, 238. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241–243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

[51] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 25, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Muteczuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." *See also* Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,000 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 534, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, [796]
at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico *had to entertain* (Cap. XX, pp. 175 and 176. Cap. XXIII, p. 196. The chiefs of Tezcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xuchimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fuéron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 416–421. Cap. LIV, p. 428. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Chollan, *etc., etc.*, were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mesmo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 450). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 38. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "y los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandoles, vistiendoles y dándoles lo necessario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándolos para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendóles en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *llamarlos cada dia al palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 65). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 126).

however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property 645 were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descen- 651 dants.[33]

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 174 648

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[33] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America." Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a [178] change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical [174] form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they 423 called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there 565 were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and 651 were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "cenaili"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession, *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located*, in *order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without [428] heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ('Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *arouses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

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[54] Durán (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, XII, XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII, XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I. pp. 15 and 18).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 63). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 476. "Con esta ocasion, ora sea que elloe de proposito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los auia hecho merced, no podian aprovecharse, por auerseles desbaratado el caño por muchas partes. por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbaratasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera," p. 71, Vedia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero, Lib. X, cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 256 and 257). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ult: Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

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Mexicans, supported by their allies, sought to extend their power. The tribes of the southeast, the Xochimilcas, the Chinampanecas, (also called the four chieftaincies: "Nauhteuctli") were the first to become their prey. Their fate, after they had once submitted, was the same as that of the Tecpanecans. The territory was not annexed, neither was the organization changed. But they were held to military assistance, and especially to tribute. The latter drew forth, as a consequence, the establishment of tribute-lands, like those which we have already met with at the close of the Tecpanecan war.[58]

When finally, after a contest of unusual length and bitterness, the tribe of Chalco also had to submit to the same conditions of tribute and warlike control,[59] — the Mexicans were really the leading power of the valley.[60] Their means of subsistence, besides, had greatly increased through tribute, among which the crops of the tribute-lands were most conspicuous — as well as through trade. One single tribe of the "Nahuatl" of the valley remained unsubdued, the Aculhuas of Tezcuco. Instead, however, of engaging in a deadly conflict, the result of which might have been equally

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If we attentively consider the above, we find:

(1). That no change was made in the tenure of lands, and no conversion of the Tecpanecan territory into a Mexican domain was effected by the conquest.

(2). That certain expanses were set aside, which continued to be held by the conquered, and worked by them after the usual communal plan, but whose crops went exclusively towards the *tribute*.

(3). That these crops were divided, corresponding to the organization of the Mexicans, — between the official requirements — ("tecpan" —) ("calpulli" as official house for the quarters) — the people (quarters "barrios,") and worship. The analogy with Peru (Inca, worship and people), is striking.

The distribution of lands to certain chiefs therefore, mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Tecpanecas, simply indicates that these lands were applied to the maintenance of such offices, and not an hereditary "fief" to a certain family. Durán positively expresses, that the office belonged in the "kin" ("lignea" — "generacion,") and was not hereditary. The lands therefore pertained to the office as a governmental feature of the kinship or calpulli, and not to the person or offspring of any incumbent. In the same way, certain tracts (or rather their crops), went to the tecpan or its occupants, as a governmental feature of the *tribe* (Bustamante, Parte III cap. V, p. 233).

[58] Durán (Cap. XII. Id. XIII, p. 114. XIV, p. 123). Tezozomoc (Cap. XVII, p. 28, XVIII, p. 29), and Acosta.

[59] Durán (Cap. XVII, p. 132). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXVI, pp. 39 and 40). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 493), etc. etc.

[60] Out of the five Nahuatl tribes who had originally settled in the valley of Mexico, three were then subjected to the Mexicans. Consequently the Tezcucans or Aculhuacans alone remained. Territorially, the latter probably covered the larger expanse, but the Mexicans and their allies had the advantage in position and numbers.

648 disastrous for both parties, negotiations commenced, terminating with the formation of a *military confederacy*, under the *leadership* of Mexico.[61]

It appears that in this, as in all other transactions of the same nature, mutual concessions had to be made. Thus, while the Tezcucans conceded the military command to the Mexicans, the latter had to admit into the confederacy that part of the Tecpanecas who, since the destruction of Azcaputzalco, recognized in Tlacopan (Tacuba) their chief pueblo. Through *tezcucan* influence it is even probable that the tribute heretofore paid to the Mexicans by that tribe, was relinquished by the former.[62]

The following seem to have been the leading features of the confederacy.

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It consisted of the three tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Each of these tribes was territorially independent; as well as in the management of its own affairs: from the two others.[63]

The military command of the forces belonged to the head-war-

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[61] Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 124. Cap. XV, pp. 125-132), mentions a *sham* fight between the Mexicans and Tezcucans, ending in a confederacy. Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 490), confirms. Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 64), speaks of a voluntary "submission" by the Tezcucans. Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX and XX), asserts that the Tezcucans were actually conquered by the Mexicans. On the other hand, Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim." Cap. XXXIV). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 175). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. V). Bustamante ("Tezcoco" Parte II*a*. cap. V), affirm that a fight took place, in which the Mexicans were worsted, and after which the Tezcucan feudal "empire" was firmly established. The truth probably lies between the two extremes, and is recognized as such by Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 175). Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 125), and finally expressed by Zurita ("Rapport." p. 11), as follows: "The sovereign of Mexico was superior to those of Tacuba and Tezcuco in matters touching warfare; in all others, their powers were equal, so that neither of them meddled with the government of the others." Herrera has adopted this view, copying almost textually (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 133, of chapter XV).

[62] The only confession found in specifically Mexican authors on the subject of the Tecpanecas of Tlacopan is the quotation from Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 123). But Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXII, pp. 218 and 220.) says: "It is plainly visible from this song that the three dynasties named were the principal ones of Mexico, and that the King of Tlacopan was regarded as equal to those of Mexico and Tezcuco.") Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LVII, p. 173. Cap. XXXIX, p. 144). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III). Clavigero (Lib. IV, caps. II and III), and Bustamante (Parte III*a*. cap. II, pp. 161, 162 and 163).—All are positive in affirming that the Tezcucans insisted upon having the Tecpanecas as a third member. The Mexican authors not contradicting, and impartial sources, like Zurita and Herrera,—establishing the fact of equality of power, and territorial autonomy (See note 61), we, therefore, feel justified in recognizing the fact as established.

[63] Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les differentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," p. 11).

chief of the Mexican tribe, with power probably to delegate the 648
same.[64] 631

Each of the three tribes elected its head war-chiefs according to its own customs; but the installation in office, *the investiture*, took place with the concurrence of the head-chiefs of the other tribes. This was especially the case in Mexico, where the "tlacatecuhtli" became commander-in-chief of the confederacy.[65]

Each tribe could carry on its own wars, defensive as well as offensive, independently; but if required, the others had to assist, in which case the Mexicans took the lead.[66]

Consequently, each tribe could have its *own conquests*, and levy its *own tribute* upon tribes which it had conquered *alone*.[67]

But wherever the *confederacy* had subjugated a foreign tribe, the spoils as well as all the subsequent tribute were divided among the three members as follows: Mexico and Tezcuco each two-fifths, and Tlacopan one-fifth.[68]

The establishment of this confederacy did not, in any manner 423
whatever, alter the principles already recognized for the tenure 645
and distribution of the soil. It only shows, and the subsequent career of the confederation further supports it, that these principles were common among the three tribes concerned. Wherever their conquests extended, the conquered were not annexed, but simply subjected to tribute, their territory and tribal autonomy were preserved, and no change introduced in the distribution of the soil beyond the reservation of tracts for the raising of tribute. Stewards, "calpixca," were the only representatives of the confederacy or of any of its members, residing permanently with the

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[64] Zurita (p. 11). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[65] Mendieta (Lib. II. cap. XXXVII. p. 153). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 357). Durán (Cap. XXXII, p. 255; cap. XXXIX, p. 303; cap. XLI. p. 325; cap. LII, p. 400). Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI, p. 68; cap. LVI, p. 91; caps. LX and LXI, p. 100; cap. LXXXII, pp. 142 and 143). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. I, pp. 2 and 3; cap. LX, p. 49; cap. LXX, p. 102). See also Veytia.— but especially Clavigero, who is very positive (Lib. IV. cap. III. "Besides, the two Kings (of Tezcuco and Tacuba), were honorary assistants to the election of the Mexican Kings. They had but to sanction the election . . . .")

[66] Zurita (p. 67). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 546 and 547).

[67] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133).

[68] Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. LVII. p. 175; cap. XXXIX. p. 144; lib. XIV, cap. VIII, pp. 546, 547 and 548). Zurita ("Rapport," p. 12). Ixtlilxochitl (Cap. XXXII, pp. 219 and 220). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. III, pp. 164 and 165). Bustamante ("Tezcoco, etc.," Parte II, cap. III, pp. 163 and 165). Clavigero (Lib. IV, cap. III).

423 648 tributaries.[69] In short, the same treatment to which the Tecpanecas had once submitted, at the hands of the Mexicans *alone*, was the one received by foreign tribes from the confederacy, from the time of its formation down to its overthrow by the Spaniards. All the conquests intervening did not ~~therefore~~ result in the formation of a *state* based upon feudal notions of territorial domain and vassalage, but simply in a conglomerate of scattered tribes often mutually inimical, who looked with terror to the valley of Mexico as the abode of their conquerors. Over these conquerors the Mexicans held military direction, and the name of Mexico, or its equivalent of "Culhua," was best known. As early as 1518, Juan de Grijalva heard it on the coast of Tabasco.[70] This wide diffusion of the *name*, coupled with the still more extensive spread of the language,[71] and the undisguised dread of the natives before that very name, has created in the minds of Europeans the picture of a Mexican nation, state, and feudal Empire; whereas there was nothing else but the military confederacy of the three leading Nahuatl tribes of the valley of Mexico.[72]

423 This rapid sketch of the history of the Mexicans, up to the time when they confederated with the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, has shown to us that in no case was the notion of public domain, of governmental lands, current among the tribes of Mexico. The tribe held no domain,—conquest of another tribe by it did not (as feudal conditions would imply) convert the conquered territory into an annex or dependency of the conqueror, as far as the possession of the soil was concerned. Finally, the confederacy itself, as such, did not even hold a territory of its own, still less did it claim possession of areas occupied by tributary tribes.

It remains now for us to revert again to the distribution of the

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[69] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 67). "This kind of tribute or allegiance ("homage-lige") was paid to officers established by the sovereigns of Mexico, of Tezcuco, or of Tacuba, etc., etc. . . . . . The chief remaining sovereign, as before the wars, retained the civil and criminal jurisdiction over all their dominions" (Id. p. 68). Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion, etc." Col. de Documentos," vol. II, p. 579). "Art of War" (p. 100, note 17). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 197).

[70] "Itinerario de l'Armata del Re Catholico in India Verso la Isola de Iuchathan del Anno M.D. XVIII," in Col. de Docum, vol. I, p. 293, taken from Ramusio. Originally published (1522), in the "Itinerario de Varthema," an exceedingly rare book. Bernal-Diez ("Hist. verdadera," Vedia II, cap. XI, p. 10).

[71] Orozco y Berra ("Geografia de las Lenguas, etc.," Parte II, p. 83, and the splendid ethnographical chart).

[72] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 11. "The province of Mexico was subject to three principal chiefs, etc. etc. . . ."

soil, and to establish its customs at the time when the Europeans 423
first trod the Mexican shore.

We readily distinguish several classes of lands, bearing each a different name, besides the "altepetlalli," or tribal territory or range. The latter was the widest circumscription for which the Nahuatl language had a term. (The word "Anahuac," which is often used, is utterly inapplicable, as we have elsewhere shown).[73] No other idea of tenure was connected with it, beyond that of *tribal occupation*.

Each of the numerous tribal areas, overrun by the confederacy 423
(provided the natives were of a sedentary character), contained 651
what we have ventured to call tribute-lots. The name given to 648
these tracts was possibly "yaotlalli," but rather "milchimalli" ("lands of war," and "shield-lands").[74] As before said, the soil of these tracts was still held in original tenure by the kinships composing the conquered tribe, but the *crops* went towards the tribute. There is no indication about the size of these areas, and they were the only ones directly connected with the conquerors.

Of those tracts whose products were exclusively applied to the 651
governmental needs of the pueblo or tribe itself (taken as an in- 423
dependent unit) there were, as we have already seen, two particular classes:

The first was the "tecpan-tlalli:"—land of the house of the community, whose crops were applied to the sustenance of such as employed themselves in the construction, ornamentation, and repairs of the public house. Of these there were sometimes several within the tribal area. They were tilled in common by special families who resided on them, using the crops in compensation for the work they performed on the official buildings.[75]

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[73] Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 32, and note 10) makes [104]
the very sensible remark that the name "Anahuac" did not at all apply to a "state" or "empire," etc., but in general to all countries situated in the neighborhood of considerable bodies of water;—such as lakes or large streams; or the shores of the sea.

[74] MSS. from Simancas "De l'ordre de succession observé par les Indiens relativement à leurs Terres et de leurs Territoires communaux," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in "Recueil de Pièces," etc., pp. 223 and 224. Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV. He includes them positively in the soil of the kinships, and treats them as communal lands, the produce of which furnished military supplies). "Yaotlalli" is improper (see "Art of War," p. 135, note 156), but "Milchimalli" is possible.

[75] From "tecpan," chief-house (Molina, Parte II, p. 95), and "tlalli," soil (Id. p. 124). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546). "There was another class of lands which belonged to the chief's income; and those who dwelt on them and cultivated them were

office in the *family*, and with it also the possession of certain lands, 428
attached to that officer's functions and duties. But it is quite certain too that this stage of development had not yet been reached by any of the tribes of Mexico at the time of its conquest by the Spaniards. The principal idea had not yet been developed, namely, that of the *domain*, which, in eastern countries at least, gradually segregated into individually hereditary tenures and ownerships.

There was consequently, at the time when the Spaniards first 642
came into contact with the Mexican aborigines, no established feudal system among the Indians of Mexico. Based exclusively upon kin, aboriginal society then presented to the first Europeans who witnessed it a strange and partly dazzling, partly repulsive; at all events a bewildering, aspect. It is not devoid of interest, and it is even important for us to consider what were the effects of this contact of a people imbued with the principles of medieval feudality with tribes still adhering to far more primitive ideas, upon the latter's mode of tenure and distribution of their lands.

The ostensible basis, on which the Spaniards established a 648
claim to any parts of America whatever, is expressed in the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, executed at Rome on the fourth day of May, 1493. By this act of the Holy See the kings of Spain (Ferdinand and Isabella), in consideration of their devotion to the Catholic religion, and of their zeal in propagating the Christian faith even over the remotest parts of the earth's surface, are made and created absolute possessors, for themselves, their heirs and successors, of all the lands already discovered and still to discover by them or their agents in the new world. The conditions accompanying this grant were that they "manage to send to the said mainlands and islands good men, fearing God, learned, well taught and expert, for to instruct their aforesaid inhabitants and natives in the Catholic faith, and to teach them good manners, with all due diligence."[116] This title, although it partakes of the nature of a

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[116] Martin Fernandez de Navarrete ("Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV." Madrid, 1825. Tom. IIo, pp. 23-35). "Et insupre mandamus vobis in virtute sanctae obedictie, est (sicut pollicemini et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et Regis magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad terras firmas et insulas praedictas viros probos, et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos et expertos ad instruendam incolas et habitatores praefatos in Fide Catholica, et in bonis moribus imbumdam destinare debeatis, omnum debitam diligentiam in praemissis adhibentes." Mendieta ("Hist. Eccles. Ind.," Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 20 and 22). Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Gomara ("Historia de las Indias," Vedia I, pp. 108 and 109). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII).

648 fief, still virtually created,—what his subsequently became in Spanish America,—a *domain* of the Spanish crown. Armed with it, and fully convinced of its validity,[117] the Spaniards regarded at once the soil of Mexico as their king's own, and therefore claimed the right as his agents, to dispose of it through distribution according to their home-laws and customs. But, instead of proclaiming this title at once after the landing, as was done on many other points of the American coast,[118] Cortés found it advisable to delay such a formal declaration until after he had, by his own inspection, satisfied himself of the proper ways and means to secure possession. He quickly found out the disconnected state of the country, although he attributed it to causes which were not really existing,[119] and it is well known how he improved it for his plans. He therefore treated secretly, as much as possible, with members of tribes subjected (or rather tributary) to the Mexicans and their confederates,[120] and in consideration of their espousing the Spanish cause, he promised them sundry favors.[121] The oldest document issued by Europeans on Mexican soil embodies such a negotiation with chiefs of the tribes of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, both pueblos being situated within the valley of Mexico itself.[122] It promises

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[117] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 41). Oviedo (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 31 and 32). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 168). Mendieta (Lib. I, cap. III, pp. 18-20), and many others. All these authorities can be summed up in Robertson's classical words: "The Pope, as vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth" ("History of America," 9th Edition, 1800. Vol. I, Book II, p. 159). It appears that already Grijalva had, in 1518, taken possession formally of the Mexican coast. (Oviedo, Lib. XVII, cap. XV, p. 523)

[118] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. VII, cap. XIV, pp. 197 and 198). Robertson (Vol. I, Book III, p. 271; also note XXIII, p. 378).

[119] Cortés supposed a Mexican state or empire and his measures were taken in consequence. ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 12). Gomara ("Conq. de Mèjico," p. 313). Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Hist. verd. de la conq. de N. España," Vedia II, pp. 32 and 33). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, pp. 386 and 387), etc. etc.

[120] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 13 and 15). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. XLI, p. 36). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. II, p. 261). Andrés de Tapía ("Col. de Documentos," of Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 561 and 562). Gomara ("Conq. de Méjico," Vedia, I, p. 320). But the main evidence is furnished by the document published by Icazbalceta in his second volume of the "Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," in the 2d volume, and entitled: "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente â los Caciques de Axapusco, de la juriediccion de Otumba" (pp. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9).

[121] "Real Ejecutoria" (Col. de doc. II, p. 7). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 320). Clavigero (Lib. VIII, cap. XI).

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423] [122] The pueblos of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco are situated along the road leading from the city of Mexico to Tullanzinco, in the state of Mexico proper, northwest of San Juan de Teotihuacan. As the Document to which we have already referred im-

to those chiefs lands of their own. The grantees had no conception 648 of the true import of what they accepted, neither did Cortés conceive the nature of *their* ideas. It was the object of the Indians

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plice, they were under Spanish rule included in the jurisdiction of Otumba. This document itself requires particular attention. It has been published by Sr. Icazbalceta in the second volume of his documentary collections, and its authenticity has been carefully examined—and, we think, successfully proven—by Sr. José F. Ramirez. Its history is not devoid of interest, and we record it here, partly from the document itself, and partly from the introduction and notes by the late Sr. Ramirez. 114 648 423

On the 9th day of March, 1617, there appeared before the viceroy of New Spain (Marques of Guadalcazar), Leonardo de Salazar "in the name of the governor, alcalde and fiscals" of the pueblo of San Esteban Axapusco and Santiago Tepeyahualco, "of the jurisdiction of Otumba," praying for a confirmation in writing by the viceroy, of a certain grant made by Cortés, and approved by the King and his royal council under seal,—to the aforesaid pueblos. In order to obtain said confirmation it was alleged: that the grant, written on "nine leaves" was so torn and damaged, that it would no longer bear handling,—and that through its loss the inhabitants of said settlements might come to grief. The petition was immediately granted and it was ordained, on the 19 of March 1617, that a copy of the original grant should be executed, and that in such places where the text was torn or obliterated through damage to the originals, common belief or tradition should prevail as far as it related to the contents of the document ("obre la fé que hubiere lugar en derecho"). The desired copy and certificates were accordingly issued on the 21st day of March, 1617.

This copy embodies the mutilated text of a very singular official paper. It appears from it that on the 20th day of May 1519, Cortés executed, in favor of two Indian chiefs of the two aforesaid pueblos, and at their request, a certificate (signed by himself at San Juan de Ulúa on that day and countersigned: Pedro Hernandez), stating that the said chiefs had joined the messengers sent from Mexico to greet and espy Cortés upon his arrival at the coast,—with the intention of approaching him secretly and offering him their assistance in any designs he might have against the Mexicans, whom they said held them severely to tribute. This they achieved, and took allegiance to the crown of Spain. In return Cortés promised to them that "after our journey should be accomplished . . . . . to them should in the first place be made the greatest honor possible in return for so much noble subtility and good-will." He also promised "to make them grandees and Lords of lands where they now have their pueblos." The facts thus alleged were contained in the original document, written consequently about 30 days after the landing of Cortés on the coast of Vera Cruz. But this act itself was included, as a copy, in a further grant, dated 16 December, 1526, in which Cortés acknowledges the services rendered by the two chiefs during the conquest of Mexico, and that after that pueblo had been captured, the said chiefs returned to their tribes "well paid with the booty," relying upon the fulfilment of his original promises. It further states that: six years having elapsed since, and to most of the chiefs who had assisted the Spanish cause, lands had been given, he remembered the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, "and by these presents in the royal name of His majesty gave them four tracts ("cuatro sitios de estancias") . . . . . in the territory of their said pueblos." These lands were freed from all taxes and impositions, and the chiefs and their heirs were invested forever with the lordship and the office of governors ("gobernadores") of the pueblo to which they belonged. This grant of Cortés was confirmed by the Emperor Charles V, and the royal council of the Indies, 2d November, 1537, and on the 9 and 10 February, 1540, the said chieftains were duly installed in their new hereditary positions, and their lands measured off to them.

Doubts were raised as to the genuineness of the document, but these are set aside completely by the fact that, not more than 98 years after its first execution, the Spanish authorities have legally acknowledged it. Some objections relating to imperfections in the text, apparent anachronisms, have been eliminated through the judicious

648 merely to become free of tribute to the Mexicans, as they had been previously; but no thought entered their mind, at that time, of ownership of the soil.[123] This earliest transaction (probably 20th of May, 1519) was in itself a perfect revolution, or at least the initiatory step thereto. Unbeknown to themselves, these Indians became feudatories to the crown of Spain, and thus the first germ was planted, which, in its development, subverted gradually the aboriginal order of things in Mexico.[124]

Every tribe, which subsequently surrendered to the Spaniards, bowed in the same manner to the new principle introduced. The Indians did not realize it, and as the idea of territorial domain was unknown to them, they could not see the construction placed upon their submission by the European invaders. It was not possible for them to feel or know that, if the council of a tribe agreed to accept the Spaniards in place of their former Mexican conquerors, their *territory* thereby might become alienated. On the other hand the Spaniards, not understanding the principles of Indian organization, completely misunderstood the nature of the contract. They took it for granted, that the tribal government had power and authority over the tribal soil.

When at last Montezuma and such chiefs as were with him, from Mexico as well as from Tezcuco and Tlacopan, being then

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notes of Sr. Ramirez, as well as by the careful and thorough treatment of the editor, Sr. Icazbalceta. We cannot refrain from accepting the "Real Ejecutoria" as genuine and from calling the reader's attention to it, as one of the most important documents on the subject of ancient Mexican tenure of the soil. For the purpose of this note. we exclusively dwell on its *authenticity*, reserving the other points concerned for subsequent annotations; two items excepted which we must mention here, namely: It results from the grant of Cortés:

(1). That the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco held no lands as their own property, until Cortés granted such to them.

(2). That their offices were *not hereditary*, until Cortés established them as such; through his aforesaid grant. The two conclusions just stated are of great importance for the subject of this paper, and they should be kept present in mind, since we shall have occasion to make further use of the document.

[123] "Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." ("Col. de Docum." Vol. II, p. 6). Andrés de Tápia ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 561, etc.) Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia, I, pp. 12 and 13). Gomara ("Conq. de Mejico," Vedia I, p. 318. Very explicit and positive). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII. cap. II, pp. 261, 262 and 263). Bernal-Diez ("Hist. verdadera, etc." Vedia II, cap. XLVI and XLVII). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," cap. LXXX. pp. 173, 174 and 175). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XX, pp. 397, 398 and 399). Clavigero (Lib. VIII. cap. IX and XI). Robertson ("History of America," Vol. II, Book V, p. 286). (Prescott Book II, cap. VII).

[124] "Real Ejecutoria, etc." ("Col. de Doc." II, p. 6, "y que desde agora en adelante y para siempre se ofrecian fieles y leales vasallos de su majestad ò emperador . . ." p. 7, "y me suplicaron les diese testimonio de la obediencia que dieron à Dios nuestro Señor y à S. M.")

in Spanish power, consented to the ceremonies required for their "swearing allegiance" to Spain, Cortés thenceforth regarded the annexation of Mexico to the domains of his liege lord as complete.[125] Montezuma was hereafter considered as a feudatory of the Spanish crown, and it became the duty of that crown's other dependents to protect him. Consequently, when the Mexicans took up arms against their obnoxious guests, they became, in the eyes of the latter, rebels against what was assumed to be their legitimate lord, Montezuma, and, he in turn having been converted into a vassal of Spain, rebels also towards that power itself.[126] This act of rebellion entailed for those participating in it, forfeiture of life and property, at the option of their conquerors. Thus a further title was created for the Spaniards, to seize even lands used or held by individuals, outside of what they believed to be public or lordly domains, and a theoretical right was construed to be a complete and violent revolution.

After the pueblo of Mexico had fallen, the first step of Cortés in regard to the Indians was, therefore, to establish the system of "Repartimientos." [127] This mode had come into existence during the life-time of Columbus, through a Patent dated 22d of July, 1497, authorizing the great admiral to distribute lands in the West Indian Islands among the Spanish settlers for their own use and exclusive ownership.[128] No mention is made, in these letters patent, of the aboriginal occupants of the soil, but Columbus, in a later act of *his own, decided that the Indians should work such lands for the benefit of those to whom he had given them* "and thus" says Herrera, "the Repartimientos or Encomiendas all over the Indies originated."[129] The Indians on such tracts became serfs to their Span-

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[125] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 30). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CI, Vedia II, p. 103). Oviedo (Lib. XXXIII, cap. IX).

[126] The term "rebellion" is frequently applied to the uprising of the Mexicans during Cortés' short absence on his expedition against Narvaez, and their subsequent resistance to Spanish power. In fact. it appears so frequently in documents and chronicles of the 16th century, that we may well refrain from special quotations.

[127] Cortés ("Carta Cuarta," Vedia I, pp. 113, 114, 115 and 116). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, Cap. CLXIX, pp. 237 and 238). Gomara (Vedia I. p. 304). Letter of the troops of Cortés to the Emperor ("Col. de Doc.," I. p. 431). It is also acknowledged by Cortés himself in his letter of 15 October, 1524, to the Emperor, wherein he expressly states ("Col. de Doc.," I. pp. 472 and 473), that he dared not promulgate the latest despatches received by him from the Spanish court. since these enjoined him to abstain from "repartir ni encomendar." Thus he acknowledges having already made "repartimientos."

[128] Navarrete ("Colleccion de Viajes, etc." Tom. II, pp. 215 and 216). Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III. cap. II, p. 66).

[129] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III, cap. XVI, p. 95). Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72).

648 ish conquerors, they could not, at least in later times, be separated from the soil on which they dwelt.[130]

The country of Mexico being very extensive, while the number of the original Spanish conquerors was comparatively small, it followed that, sometimes at least, large areas inhabited by entire tribes, or at least by entire kinships, fell to the lot of a single man. The new owner in such cases found an organized community established upon his grant, and he usually preferred not to disturb this organization, contenting himself with exacting for his individual benefit a tribute levied in a manner approximate to that which had been customary previous to the conquest.[131] Nevertheless, several disturbing influences soon appeared.

The first one was the construction placed upon the obligation of personal labor to be performed by the Indians. It was gradually so extended, that instead of remaining confined to the *land*, it attached to the *person* of the new owner, and thus tended, by admitting forcible displacement, to disrupt the ties of kinship, which formed the basis of the tenure of lands.[132]

In the second place the Spaniards looked upon all tracts set apart by the Indians for governmental purposes, as public domain of the Mexicans, and so, wherever a tribe had resisted their invasion, such official lands were of course regarded as forfeited. They became either property of the crown, or were assigned to some one of the early Spanish immigrants. We have already seen that these lots, although their crops were destined to special uses, were properly communal soil. This mode of tenure was now suddenly abolished, and the principle of *private* or *public ownership* established in its place. It is not surprising therefore, to find in the "Libro del Cabildo," or book of the municipality of the young city of Mexico, between the years 1524 and 1529, numerous entries recording the petitions of Spaniards for sites occupied, according to their belief, by private dwellings of Mexican chiefs, and the grants issued in consequence thereof.[133] This applied not only to the "lands of the houses of the community" (tecpan-tlalli), and "lands of the speakers" (tlatoca-tlalli), but especially to the "pillali" or lots assigned to each chieftain as member of a particular quarter. In this manner the soil of the consanguine group, the basis of landed tenure in Mexico, was directly invaded; portions of it being torn from its original connection.

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[130] Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III cap. XVI, p. 95). Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72). Mendieta (Lib. I. cap. VI, pp. 32 and 33).

[131] Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo ("Recueil. etc.," p. 244). Letter of the Licentiate Ceynos ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, pp. 162 and 163). Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Col. de Doc." Vol. II, pp. 170. 171 and 172, etc., etc.). Letter of Father Domingo de Betanzos ("Col. de Doc.," II, pp. 190-197). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CCX, p. 313. Vedia II).

[132] That the original intention was merely to have the Indians work the soil for the benefit of the Spanish owners, is proved by Herrera (Dec. I, lib. III, cap. XVI, p. 95), and by Oviedo (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 72). The latter was a contemporary. But it results, principally from the complaints about the ill treatments of the Indians, and the suggestions for remedy,—that the Spaniards very soon converted this position into one of personal slavery. See Letter of Ramirez de Fuenleal, of 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," II. pp. 167 and 168), of Alonzo del Castillo (Col. II, p. 202). Opinion of the Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar, 8 Oct., 1526 ("Col. de Doc." II, pp. 545 and 546). Joint letter to the Emperor, of 9 Franciscan and Dominican monks ("Col. de Doc." pp. 549-553). Letter of Motolinia ("Col. de Doc." Vol. I), 2 Jan., 1555.

Lastly the Spaniards, finding Indian communities too strongly and permanently organized for a sudden and violent reform, acceded to their maintenance as far as they understood it. But, fully convinced that the chiefs were monarchical or despotic rulers — masters of the soil as well as of its inhabitants,— wherever these chiefs had been personally friendly to them or wherever they regarded it as politic, they confirmed what they conceived to be *their prerogatives.*[134] Thus, regarding them as *owners* of the different classes of official lots, this ownership was formally recognized, and it was acknowledged that they were "lawfully seized in fee thereof." The "tlalmaites" became in law the vassals of those whom they formerly but considered as elective functionaries.

Not content with this, and in order to reward certain chiefs for services rendered during the conquest or good behavior afterwards, the Spanish conquerors also issued to them "Repartimientos, or gave them lands, sometimes unoccupied wastes, as their *own pri-*

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[133] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Vol. II. lib. III, cap. VIII, pp. 64 and 65).

[134] Letter of Father Toribio de Paredes (Motolinia) 2 Jan'y, 1555 (Col. de Doc. I), and especially the long letter of Mendieta, dated Toluca, 1st day of the year 1562 (" Col. de Doc." II). "Sixth: it appears to me that the native and legitimate Lords should be taken into account . . . . . I treat of the particular Lords, touching their lordship of their Indians and pueblos, which they formerly possessed. For I think that some are expelled, and I do not know even if they were not reduced to macehuales and tributaries, and others, although some trifle is given to them it is in the shape of a governorship and in such a manner that, once despoiled from it, they are left destitute" ("se quedan á buenas noches") (p. 536). The good father here represents the true conceptions of the Europeans about the Indian chieftaincy (as a feudal lordship) at the time of the conquest. Also; Letter of the Archbishop of Mexico, Fray Alonzo de Montufar, dated 30 Nov., 1554. ("Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique" Ternaux-Compans, pp. 258, 259 and 260, appendix.)

648 *vate property.*[135] Among these is to be classed the grant already mentioned to the caciques of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco.[136]

The documents partaking of the nature of "Repartimientos" contain among their number a donation by Cortés to Doña Isabel Montezuma, daughter of the former Mexican "Tlaca-tecuhtli," which is very interesting for the purposes of this investigation. It is dated 26 of June, 1526, and gives to the grantee, in consideration of the aid lent to Cortés by her father, *the entire territory of the Tecpanecan tribe, at the same time acknowledging that it belonged to her by right "as patrimonal estate."*[137] We know, however, that the Tecpanecas formed the third member of the

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[135] "Real Ejecutoria, etc." ("Col. de Doc." Vol. II, p. 20). Grant of Cortés to Doña Isabel Montezuma (Prescott, "Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico," Vol. III, Appendix, pp. 460, 461, 462, 463 and 464). Petition addressed to Charles V, by several Mexican chiefs in 1538 (Appendix to "Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique" Ternaux-Compans, p. 261).

[136] It says: ("Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." Col. de Doc. II, p. 18, "and since they were such (faithful) servants of H. M., they should be freed, together with their pueblos, from all impositions and contributions forever, and to them should be given four tracts of land ("estancias de tierras"), and they should become perpetual governors of their tribes, and none of their inferiors should ever obtain the office" p. 21. The King and his council of the Indies consequently ordained "by these presents we declare the aforesaid to be free and discharged ("quitos"), not bound to tributes, tenths, premices and other duties or contributions customary or yet to be introduced, and that they and their descendants shall perpetually hold the government of their pueblos, with all the advantages and appurtenances to the four tracts, as Lords thereof, and that it is our pleasure and will. . . ." Lastly, in describing the lands surveyed for the said caciques it says: "and they are rough timbered lands, without any water, of which the aforesaid took possession" p. 24). This shows that certain tracts were set off from the communal soil, to become private property of the chiefs. It is interesting to connect therewith the following statement by Zurita (p. 57). "These lands belonging to the calpullis, it was unjust to give them to the Spaniards, as it is still done. The latter seeing uncultivated lands, demand them from the persons who govern."

[137] This grant has fortunately been published by Mr. Prescott, in the Appendix to the "History of the Conquest of Mexico" (Vol. III, pp. 461–464). It bears the title: "Privilegio de Doña Isabel Montezuma, Hija del gran Motezuma último Rey Indio del gran Reyno y Cibdad de México, que bautizada y siendo Christiana casò con Alonso Grado, natural de la villa de Alcantara, Hidalgo, y criado de su Magestad, que habia Servido y servia en muchos oficios de aquel Reyno. Otorgado por Don Hernando Cortes, conquistador del dicho Reyno, etc., etc." Its date is 26 June, 1526. The Doña Isabel is mentioned as "the principal and legitimate heiress of the said Lord Moteçuma," and the concession itself is worded as follows: "con la qual dicha Doña Isabel le prometo y doi en dote y arras á la dicha Doña Isabel y sus descendientes, en nombre de S. M. y como su governador y capitan general destas partes, y porque de derecho le pertenece de su patrimonio y legitima, el Señoria y naturales del Pueblo de Tacuba, etc., etc." The following pueblos are added: Yeteve, Yzqui-Luca, Chimalpan, Chapulmaloyan, Escapulteango, Xiloango, Ocoiacaque, Castepeque, Talanco, Gatacrio, Duotepeque, Tacala. Notwithstanding the defective orthography (Escapultango in place of Azcaputzalco, Duotepeque instead of Ometepec, etc.) we easily discern the territory of the Tecpanecan tribe; a fact still further proven by the own words of the grant: "the aforesaid settlements and pueblos are subjected to the pueblo of Tacuba and to its Lord."

"Nahuatl" confederacy of the valley of Mexico, that they and 648
their soil were totally independent from the Mexicans.[138] Still, Cortés honestly assumed it to have been a part of the Mexican domain, and on this assumption based his disposition of it, fully convinced that he was performing an act of honest restitution. This gives a measure of the erroneous ideas then prevailing among the Spaniards on the mode of tenure and distribution of lands in ancient Mexico.

Thus a state of things was inaugurated which could not fail, 648
eventually, to create the most unfortunate results. The Indians 178
among themselves were placed on very unequal footings. In some sections the calpulli, even the whole tribe, were left undisturbed, in others their lands were assigned to Spanish individuals. Again, certain tracts were taken away from the communal soil, and became private property of individual conquerors. But the most disastrous influence certainly was exercised by the assignment of landed property to individual Indians. It created an inequality of condition in each and every aboriginal community against which those least favored revolted, whereas the preferred ones, now combining authority with landed property, were tempted to abuse their new position.[139] Of this division and strife among the

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[138] In addition to the testimony already adduced, we refer here to the Letter of Fray Toribio (Motolinia) and Fray Diego d' Olarte, dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554. "All the others obeyed to Montezuma, to the sovereign of Tezcuco, and to him of Tacuba. These three princes were closely confederated; they divided among themselves the lands (countries) which they conquered." ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," p. 403.) In the "Relation of the services rendered by the Marquis of the Valley (Cortés)," executed between 1532 and 1535—and presented to the Emperor by the Licentiate Nuñez, reference is made to the original grant *to Cortés*, of lands containing: "23,000 vassals" which territory included the Tecpanecan pueblos of Cuyuacan and Atacubaya. These pueblos were claimed "through the intrigues of the president Nuño de Guzman and of the auditors Matienzo and Delgadillo" as belonging to Mexico, but the case was tried in New Spain, and Cortés furnished ample proof "how the said lands are distinct, in limits and jurisdiction, from the city of Mexico, and that the Lords of Cuyuacan and Atacubaya always possessed them peaceably and in fact" ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, p. 56). If now this was the fact with those two villages, how much more so was it with Tacuba and its surroundings, which were the chief places of the Tecpanecan tribe; as third member of the Nahuatl confederacy of the Mexican valley.

[139] The grant to Cortés mentioned in the preceding note, is an instance of the agglomeration of several pueblos under a single owner. There must have been many more: since he created originally but 200 "Repartimientos" over the whole territory. The Licentiate Ceynos, in his letter of 22 June, 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. II, p. 159), mentions "until 400 persons" of which 200 had to settle in the city of Mexico. The Bishop Fuenleal in his "Opinion" of 1532 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 170), mentions (among others) the following Repartimientos: "Huexotzinco to Diego de Ordás." The province of

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Aborigines themselves the Spaniards naturally profited for further encroachments. Many "encomenderos" used the authority of the chiefs to turn their Indian serfs into actual slaves, others in turn improved the new perspective opened to the natives towards the acquisition of private lands, for the purpose of undermining the influence and authority of the chieftains.[140] Frequently, also, the ignorance in which the Indians were, as to the

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Tepeaca to Pedro Armildez Chirino,—Chilchota to Juan de Sámano, etc., etc. Each of these, especially the first one, comprised several villages, nay a whole tribe.

Compare the letter of the Archbishop Montufar, 30 Nov., 1554 ("Cruautés horribles, etc." Appendix, 255–260). Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). The complaints are principally, against such as held offices under the conquerors, and such to whom lands were given out of the calpulalli. The petition of Montufar is a terrible accusation against the Indian chiefs. Gomara, however, qualifies it as one of the good effects of the conquest that the Indians since that time "hold lands" (Vedia I). Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17) is very severe on the collectors of rent for the whites. But these collectors must have been mostly Indians,—*chiefs*, as he himself acknowledges in his Cholula-letters.

[140] Motolinia (Trat. I, cap. I, p. 17). Montufar (pp. 255–260) Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Caynos, Second Letter, 1 March, 1565 (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 240 and 241). Zurita (p. 83) is of special importance, exposing the intrigues of the Spanish conquerors among the Indian communities, inciting the natives to litigations against their chiefs. Mendieta, in his remarkable letter from Toluca, 1 Jan'y, 1562, to Fray Francisco de Bustamante, commissary general, at Mexico, devotes his principal attention to the pernicious influence of the Spanish interpreters and lawyers, inciting the Indians to litigation before the "Audiencia" and not before the viceroy. *He says for inst.* (p. 532), "that without comparison their condition and behavior was better at their time of gentility than now. For at the time they were heathens they did not know of lawyers ("letrado" properly men of letters), scribes, nor attorneys, neither of litigations, nor to spend in such (squabbles) their properties and ruin their souls. To-day, since the opportunity is afforded to them, and they being naturally quarrelsome, disposed to tackle and injure each other, they are so fond of it as to have them continually on hand, without cause nor reason, and (such are) always the worst and most abject of the tribe. Therefore not a single community is found in New Spain which is not disturbed, and does not spend nearly as much in litigation as they pay of tribute to H. M., or to the encomendero every year. And since they are of little understanding, and not versed in law, I hold all what the interpreters and attorneys gain by it as so much of a robbery as if they would take it from the houses at night. Such do not even deny their base actions, but confess openly that they do it, without any other excuse than that H. M. gives them permission." On p. 536, he says: "certain particular Indians in all the settlements do great mischief, knowing that they have recourse to the court, and among the pretenses to cover their malice they use two most commonly, which are: demand account of the communal property, pretending that the principals spend it, and the other, to have the conduct of their officers investigated under color that these abuse of their position (power)." Zurita (p. 83), speaking of the intrigues against the chiefs says: "the ordinary tribute and prestations failing, they fall into the most abject misery, become dejected, dare not speak, and do not know where to apply for protection. For all this the rebels do not cause any loss to the encomendero as to his tribute . . . . In this manner they ruin the chiefs in a very short time, for all their property consists in the work of their vassals, as soon as that ceases, if it was but for a single day, they lack every requisite for life." (This quotation is in itself, we think, the most ample confirmation of what we have advanced upon the subject of aboriginal tenure of the soil, and fully disproves what has been assumed in regard to the chiefs holding and owning lands of their own). *See also* Memorial of Bartolomé de Las Casas (Col. de Doc. II, pp. 229 and 230).

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real import and value of landed concessions, was taken advantage 648
of to deprive them of such subsequently, either through litigation 178
or through barter for worthless trifles.[141] Unacquainted with the new order of things suddenly forced upon them, unable therefore to profit by it for subsistence, the natives of Mexico could not help being *degraded* instead of *elevated* and bettered in condition by such a transition which displaced them, in the course of a few years, from a state of tribal and communal society into one of civilization.[142]

Consequently a state of disorganization began to prevail, which threatened to ruin the country. At the same time, however, while the Indians, forlorn in the maze of difficulties in which their conquerors themselves also floundered about, were in a perfectly helpless condition, a sudden protection and relief arose to them. On the 13th of May, 1524, "one day previous to the vigils of 797
Pentecost," there landed at San Juan de Ulúa, a cluster of twelve Franciscan friars, sent to Mexico in response to the original call of Cortès, for the purpose of converting the Indians.[143] These monks

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[141] Zurita (pp. 63 and 64). Mendieta (Letter, in Col. de Doc. II).

[142] The Europeans opened a wide field for activity. They were superior to the Mexican aborigines, not only in organization, but especially in mechanical arts and inventions for the purpose of subsistence. It was now required of the Indians to suddenly take hold of all these improvements, which it had taken the Europeans centuries upon centuries to secure through long experimenting,—and to become familiar with them in a short time, as well as to feel happy and contented at once under a state of society which tore asunder all those ties of kinship forming, since time immemorial, the basis of their organization. It was asking too much of them altogether, and if besides what was asked was even enforced violently,—then the degrading consequences could not be avoided. Therefore, the most ardent advocates of the Indian cause took great care to insist upon letting the natives alone in their communities; even prohibiting the access thereto to the Spanish colonists. Bartolomé de las Casas, in his joint memorial with Fray Domingo de Santa Tomás, in favor of the Indians of Peru, written about 1559 ("Col. de Doc." Bibliographical notes, p. XLII.) says: "Lo segundo, que porque los Españoles son siempre del bien de los indios contrarios, y en especial lo son y han de ser impedidores de aquesto negocio y concierto, que han de estorbar por cuantas vias pudieren que los indios no paguen à S. M. ni puedan pagar este servicio; por tanto es necesario que se prohiba que ningun comendero entre por ninguna causa ni razon en los pueblos de los indios que tienen encomendados, ni sus mujeres, que son las mas crueles y perniciosas, ni negro, ni criado, ni otra persona suya (p. 232)." Alonzo de Zurita, in his memorial written at Mexico between 1554 and 1564 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. XLVIII), insists strongly upon keeping the Indians apart from the Whites (p. 333). In regard to the actual degradation, see Mendieta's letter, of 1 Jan'y, 1562 ("Col. de Doc.," II, p. 535). Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de N. España," Trat. I, cap. I).

[143] The Franciscan friars obtained their first concession from Pope Leo X, by a bull dated 25 April, 1521 (Mendieta, lib. III, cap. V, pp. 185–190). This bull was executed in favor of Fray Francisco de Quiñones (de los Angeles), and Fray Juan Clapion. But these fathers never reached Mexico. Previous to it, three Flemish missionaries, Fray Juan de Tecto, Fray Juan de Aora, and Fray Pedro of Ghent had gone to New Spain

even in their letter to the emperor, dated 1st of September, 1526,[146] 797 the "apostles of Mexico" insisted upon a thorough establishment of what Mr. Prescott so justly calls the "vicious" system of Repartimientos, representing that an immediate and thorough intermingling of both races alone could promote the interests of conversion.[147]

Still, an improvement in the system gradually took place. The 648 civil and criminal jurisdiction over the natives, which formerly had been vested in each landholder,[148] was placed in the hands of special officers of the crown. It was directed that the owner should reside on his property, that the Indians could not be separated from the soil and finally, on the 20th of November, 1542, the "new laws and ordonnances for the government of the Indies" were promulgated, which contained such restrictions upon the "Repartimientos," that their further extension and increase was rendered impossible, and the number of those existing, greatly limited. The Indians themselves were declared direct vassals to the crown of Spain.[149]

Although in many parts of Spanish America these laws were but "obeyed though not executed,"[150] they still called forth a

[146] "Col. de Documentos" (Vol. II, pp. 155, 156 and 157). Joint letter of Franciscan and Dominican monks (p. 549, etc.).

[147] "Col. de Doc.," II, pp. 155–157, 549, etc.; also letter of Fray Domingo de Betanzos (pp. 190–197). Notwithstanding the agreement between Franciscan and Dominican monks on that point, Las Casas continued to protest in the most vehement manner, against the "Repartimiento." See his memorial, jointly with Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (Col. II, pp. 231–236), and to the council of the Indies, of 1562 or 1563 (Col. II, pp. 505–508), in which he says: "Thirdly, that the encomiendas or repartimientos of Indians are iniquitous, per se wrong, therefore tyrannical, and such administration is tyrannical also. Fourth, that such as give them commit a mortal sin, like those who maintain them, and if they do not give them up, they cannot be saved."

[148] It was customary for each "encomendero" to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within his "Repartimiento."

[149] "Nuevas Leyes y Ordenanzas para la Gobernacion de las Indias" (Col. de Doc., II, pp. 204–227), dated Valladolid (Spain), 4 June, 1543, promulgated at Mexico, 24 March, 1544. Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VI, cap. V, pp. 110–113). These new laws were the cause of bloody disturbances in Spanish America. Gomara (Vedia I, pp. 249 and 250).

[150] "Se obedece, pero no se cumple." There are many evidences of this saying having been put in actual practice. Joaquin Acosta ("Compendio historico dol Descubrimiento y de la Colonizacion de Nueva Granada," 1848, cap. XVII, p. 316). At the arrival of the Licentiate Armendariz in Cauca, sent to enforce the new laws, Belalcazar at once had them promulgated, but took the responsibility of forthwith also suspending their execution. He wrote to the King from Cali, in 1544, in regard to his action. Acosta says: "Entonces comenzó en el nuevo mundo Español á campear la formula irrisoria de se obedece, pero no se cumple; con que se eludian las ordenes que no les convenia ejecutar á los funcionarios de aquellas apartados comarcas." Herrera (Dec. VII, lib. VII, cap. XXIII, pp. 157 and 158).

618 marked improvement, at least in the personal condition of the Indians. They were, hereafter, at least to some extent, protected from the bodily slavery in which the former acts had plunged them. In regard to the tenure of lands, however, the laws wrought no change. Further direct spoliations became more difficult, but the new principle of private ownership had been firmly implanted, not merely *around* but *among* the natives themselves, and the obliteration of the ancient usages, by the extension of this principle, could not be stayed.

618 423 Of the aboriginal mode of tenure of lands and of their distribution, but one vestige remained — the last monument so to say, and the one which embodies, happily, all its principal features. These are the lands of *kinship*, held in common by the consanguine group or calpulli, and called as we have seen, "calpulalli," by the Mexicans.

Although their order had been very much disturbed since in many cases the official tracts, "tecpan-tlalli" and "tlatoca- tlalli," as well as those apportioned to the chiefs as members of the kin, "tlalmilli," were appropriated by the conquerors,— the bulk of the "calpulalli" could not, for a long time, be disintegrated for private uses, notwithstanding the still more nefarious influence exercised by the donation of lands to individuals, with the faculty of barter or sale, in the very heart of the organization itself. Even up to the present time, these communal tracts are still found in Mexico, occupied and tilled by the aborigines after their original customs.[151]

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171 [151] Mr. James Pascoe, an English gentleman, resident of Toluca, has in a letter reported upon by the French "Journal des Missions Evangéliques" (1874), given a detailed description of the condition of the Indians in his vicinity. His statements about their communal system of tenure, the eligibility of their chiefs, etc., etc. ("gobernadores") are very positive and plain.

Mr. Stephens, in "Travels in Yucatan" (Vol. II, cap. I, pp. 14 and 15), described the mode of life of the settlement ("rancho") of Schawill near Nohcacab, which settlement contained about "one hundred labradores, or working men, their lands are held and worked in common, and the products are shared by all. Their food is prepared at one hut, and every family sends for its portion, etc., etc."

Brantz-Mayer: ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1847). While at the hacienda of Temisco near Cuernavaca: "he pointed out to us the site of an Indian village, at the distance of three leagues, the inhabitants of which are almost in their native state. He told us, that they do not permit the visits of white people; and that, numbering more than three thousand, they come out in delegations to work at the haciendas, being governed at home by their own magistrates, administering their own lands, and employing a Catholic priest to shrive them of their sins; once a year. The money they receive in payment of wages, at the haciendas, is taken home and buried; and as they produce the cotton and skin for their dresses, and the corn and beans for their food, they purchase nothing at the stores" (p. 175). Hon. E. G. Squier, in his ex-

At a late hour, comparatively, the government of Spain recognized the importance of maintaining this last vestige of Indian land tenure. It was brought to it, not only by the incessant clamor of ecclesiastics of various orders,[152] by the necessity of restraining the power of the new settlers over the aborigines, which power threatened (as in Peru) to endanger Spanish domination itself,[153]—but especially from the conviction, that it was best suited to the wants of the Mexican natives, being the mode of 648

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cellent work on Nicaragua, makes the *following* very important observations on the tenure of lands there: (Vol. I, cap. 290 and 291). "The municipality of Subtiaba, in common with the barrios of some of the towns, holds lands, as I have said, in virtue of royal grants, in its corporate capacity. These lands are inalienable, and are leased to the inhabitants at low and almost nominal rates. Every citizen is entitled to a sufficient quantity to enable him to support himself and his family; for which he pays from four rials (half a dollar), to two dollars a year. This practice seems to have been of aboriginal institution; for under the ancient Indian organization, the right to live was recognized as a fundamental principle in the civil and social system. No man was supposed to be entitled to more land than was necessary to his support; nor was he permitted to hold more than that, to the exclusion or injury of others. In fact, many of the institutions of the Indians in this country were recognized, and have been perpetuated by the Spaniards." The bearings of these remarks, upon our subject, are easily noticed, and need no further comments. That part of the indigenous population of which the learned traveller treats, are from the same stock as the Mexicans. 171

The document which has already occupied our attention, namely: the grant of Cortés to the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco (See note 138) also furnishes evidence of the existence of these communal tracts in Mexico, and their recognizance by the Spanish government. This grant was the object or cause of a long suit, which we shall refer to hereafter,—the inhabitants of the two pueblos suing their chiefs for restitution of the communal property. This shows that the "calpulli" in *fact*, if not in name perhaps, still existed at least in the past century. The litigation alluded to occurred between the years 1755 and 1764.

[152] These protestations were mainly issued at the example of the indefatigable Las Casas. It would be superfluous to refer to them in detail. But it is remarkable with what freedom of language this violent though noble character was permitted to speak. We have already quoted (note 147), his memorial to the council of the Indies (written in 1562 or 1563). In that document he goes so far as to say: "*First*, that all the wars called conquests ("conquistas" applying it to the New World exclusively), were and are unjust and the very acts of tyrants. Second, that all the Kingdoms and Lordships of the Indies are held by us through usurpation only . . . . . Fifth: that the King our Lord, whom God may keep safe and prosperous, cannot, with all the power God has given him, justify the wars and robberies made to these people, nor the Repartimientos and encomiendas,—more than he could justify the wars and robberies committed against the Christian by the Turks . . . . . . Eighth: that the natives of all these parts and wherever we may have entered the Indies have a perfect right to make war upon us or to expel us and wipe us off the face of the earth, which right they will preserve until the day of judgment" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 228). This is strong talk from the Bishop of Chiapas, not only against the Emperor, but against the *Holy See*, which had *donated* the Indies to Spain.

[153] It is well known that the liberation of the Indians from personal servitude was a measure, not only of humanity and justice, but also of policy, on the part of the Spanish government, to weaken the growing power of the conquerors and early colonists. The troubles in Peru give a good example of the state of affairs.

648 tenure of lands corresponding to undisturbed aboriginal society. Thus the calpulli were, to a limited extent, protected, nay fostered, and recognized in law, even as late as the past century.[154] Like all remains of "ancient society," *they* also are bound to disappear, or be transformed in a manner suitable to the exigencies of a higher culture. But it may not be amiss to quote, at the close of this investigation, a tribute paid to their value for the wants of Indian society by Alonzo de Zurita, a Spanish official of perspicacity, deep knowledge, and honest judgment, in his memorial to the King of Spain, written about the year 1560.[155]

618 [154] The litigation over the grant to the caciques of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, to which we referred in note 151,— is commented upon as follows by Señore J. F. Ramirez in his letter proving the authenticity of the document, dated 30 Sept., 1865, and printed in the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria, etc., etc." "D. Juan de los Santos, D. Antonio Estéban, D. Juan and D. Lorenzo Morales, with the title of caciques and principals of Tepeyahualco, and with the right of successors and lawful descendants of D. Juan and D. Fernando Morales "companions (they said), of the illustrious Hernan Cortés in the conquest and pacification of these kingdoms" had been in possession of the municipal government of that pueblo and of Axapusco, and consequently of the administration of their communal property. The dexterous policy of the Spanish government soon conceived the danger of that system, *which was very general in its origin*, and therefore sought to undermine it in its own particular way. It sought, therefore, to develop the municipal (communal) principle of institutions, and setting the democratic element to action, thus placed the caciques in opposition with their former subordinates, destroying their influence and power. In the present case, the viceroy authorized the pueblos mentioned to elect their municipal authorities, and thereby Santos and the Morales were removed from the administration of the properties." These remarks are very important. But the parties appealed from this division and a long suit ensued. The chiefs based their claims upon the grant of Cortés *exclusively* (pp. XIII and XIV), and the pueblos attacked the authenticity of that document; at the same time invoking the right of possession ("plenario de posesion.") The result of the litigation is described as follows: "declaring the possession in favor of the pueblos, condemning Santos to restitution of the fruits (proceeds), but leaving aside the rights of the parties upon the point of ownership" (juicio de propiedad). The whole case shows that the Spanish government recognized:

First: The communal organization of the tribes, and the elective constituency of its chieftains.

Second: That the hereditary office of chiefs, and the hereditary ownership of lands, were Spanish innovations ("que á su principio fué muy ordinario"). Now this origin ("principio") is certainly not intended to go farther back than the conquest.

Third: That the only right and title, as claimed by the chiefs, was derived from the grant of Cortés, and that they did not claim any prior right, connected with descendancy or with privilege of caste.

Fourth: Consequently, that the Spanish government itself recognized the anterior democratic constituency of the Indian community, and its customs, regarding them as prevailing even over the acts and disposition of Cortés,— although to him the Spaniards owed the conquest of the country.

[155] Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne." pp. 63 and 64. The original of this highly important report to the King of Spain, has been printed once, but very defectively, in the "Collecion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, etc., etc." It is much to be regretted that my learned friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, has not incorporated that copy of it pertaining to Sr. Ramirez, in his valuable

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"The good order reigning in the calpullis is a strong reason to protect them in law, and to prevent them from becoming intermingled, as they are already nearly everywhere; for once broken up, the harmony which they originally exhibited can never be reëstablished again. The ignorance about these institutions, and the little regard paid to them, are the cause that many Indians were given lands out of their calpullis, which they (originally) had received only to cultivate, and (this) on their simple assertion that they and their ancestors had held and tilled them. In doing this, they but follow the advice of the Spaniards (mestizoes) and mulattoes, who involve them in litigations, and who live from these squabbles. . . . . In vain the chiefs deny such assertions, claiming that the lands belong to the calpulli; they are not heeded, the rightful owners are despoiled, and those to whom they are adjudged do not profit by it, since they sell them, or alienate them (otherwise) to the detriment of the calpulli." 648

Out of the scanty remains thus left of certain features of aboriginal life in ancient Mexico, as well as out of the conflicting statements about that country's early history, we have now attempted to reconstruct the conceptions of the Mexican aborigines about tenure of lands, as well as their manner of distribution thereof. Our inquiries seem to justify the following conclusions: 423

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, either by a nation or state, or by the head of its government, or by individuals, was unknown to the ancient Mexicans.

2. Definite possessory right was vested in the kinships com-

"Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México."— Alonso de Zurita lived in America from 1540 till 1560; or about nineteen years. Of these he spent two at St. Domingo, three years in N. Granada, Sa. Marta, Cartagena, and the Cabo de la Vela, three years in Guatemala, and about eleven in Mexico. His "Report" consists of a series of answers to queries put by the King, and sent from Valladolid, Dec., 1553. If we could obtain all the answers given to these questions from all parts of Spanish America, and all as elaborate and truthful as those of Zurita, Palacio and Ondegardo, our knowledge of aboriginal history and ethnology of Spanish America would be much advanced.

423 posing the tribe; but the idea of sale, barter, or conveyance or alienation of such by the kin had not been conceived.

3. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, held but the right to use certain defined lots for their sustenance, which right, although hereditary in the male line, was nevertheless limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom the said lots were assigned.

4. No possessory rights to land were attached to any office or chieftaincy. As members of a kin, each chief had the use of a certain lot, which he could rent or farm to others, for his benefit.

5. For the requirements of tribal business, and of the governmental features of the kinships (public hospitality included), certain tracts were set apart as official lands, out of which the official households were supplied and sustained; but these lands and their products were totally independent from the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

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651 6. Conquest of any tribe by the Mexicans was not followed by an annexation of that tribe's territory, nor by an apportionment of its soil among the conquerors. Tribute was exacted, and, for the purpose of raising that tribute (in part), special tracts were set off; the crops of which were gathered for the storehouses of Mexico.

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642 7. Consequently, as our previous investigation (of the warlike institutions and customs of the ancient Mexicans) have disproved the generally received notion of a military despotism prevailing among them,—so the results of this review of Tenure and distribution of lands tend to establish: "that the principle and institution of feudality did not exist in aboriginal Mexico."

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648 This eliminates at once the notion of a Mexican state or empire, embracing in the folds of political society [5] all the groups of abor-

la segunda poblacion de las del Valle." Farther on. quoting *Juan Bautista Pomar*, "*Relacion de la ciudad de Tezcuco*," (MSS., belonging to Sr. Icazbalceta, and dated 1582) who says of Tezcuco: "La extension del reino era desde el mar del N. á la del Sur, con todo lo que se comprende á la banda del Poniente hasta el puerto de la Vera Cruz, salvo la Ciudad de Tlachcala y Huexotzinco," the learned ethnographer adds. (p. 242), "Juan B. Pomar fija las limites del reino con toda la exaggeracion que puede infundir el orgullo de raza. Por nuestra parte, hemos leido con cuidado las relaciones que á la monarquia corresponden, y hemos estudiado en el plano los lugares à que se refieren, y ni de las unas ni de las otras llegamos á sacar jamas que los reyes de Acolhuacan mandaron sobre las tribus avecindadas in la costa del Pacifico, no ya à la misma de México, sino aun á menores latitudes." He then enters upon a discussion of the number and names of settlements which gave tribute exclusively to Tezcuco. We can only refer to it in general here. as one of the most valuable contributions to Mexican history, and based upon authorities which ought to be published as soon as possible, some of which we mention for the benefit of students:—

[114] (1). "*Memorial dirigido al rey por Don Hernando Pimentel Nezcavualcuyutl, cacique y gobernador de la provincia de Tezcuco, etc.*" This is the celebrated Report used by Torquemada and Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl. and which the Cavaliere Boturini Benaducci owned.

(2). "*Relacion de Sempahuala del corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.
(3). "*Relacion de Epazoyuca por el corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.
(4). "*Relacion de Tetliztaca por el corregidor Luis Obregon*," 1580, MSS.
(5). "*Relacion de Meztitlan por el alcalde mayor Gabriel de Chavez*," 1580, MSS.
(6). "*Relacion de Atengo por el corregidor Juan de Padilla*," 1579, MSS.
(7). "*Relacion de Atlatlauca por el corregidor Gaspar de Solis*," 1580, MSS.
(8). "*Relacion de Acapiztla por el alcalde mayor Juan Gutierrez de Liebana*," 1580, MSS.
(9). "*Relacion de Culhuacan por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego*," 1580, MSS.
(10). "*Relacion de Iztapalapa por el corregidor Gonzalo Gallego*," 1580, MSS.

Since most of these valuable MSS. are the property of Sr. J. G. Icazbalceta, an early publication thereof may be hoped for.

Sr. Orozco y Berra now reaches the important conclusion:

(*a*). That Acolhuacan or Tezcuco had settlements tributary to it alone, (p. 246).

(*b*). That the "Empire" had tributaries of itself.

(*c*). That certain pueblos paid tribute both to Tezcuco and to Mexico, (p. 246), Epazoyuca, "pertenecieron tambien á Tetzcoco, y en el reinado de Itzcoatl quedaron por mitad para México y para Tetzcoco, á fin de que de alli sacaran los imperiales las navajas para sus macanas." Taken probably from Relacion 3.

The "Imperiales" were, therefore, the confederates, and the "Imperio" the confederacy. But if, within the area conquered by these confederates, each one of them received its share of tributary tribes, how could it be their task or tendency to unify or nationalize, since each of the three associates composed but a part of that power, and their association was a voluntary one?

(2). None of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond the exclusively military direction delegated to the Mexicans proper. "*Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne, Par Alonso de Zurita*," translated from the Spanish original by Mr. Ternaux Compans, and printed in 1840, by him in his "*Voyages Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l' histoire de la découverte de l' Amérique*," (p. 11). "La province de Mexico était soumise à trois principaux chefs: celui de Mexico, celui de Tezcuco et celui de Tlacopan, que l'on nomme aujourd' hui Tacuba. Tous les chefs inférieurs relevaient de ces souverains et leur obéissaient. Les trois chefs supérieurs formaient une confédération et se partageaient les provinces dont ils s'emparaient. Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tezcuco et de Tacuba pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l' un d' eux ne se mêlait jamais du

igines settled within the area tributary to the valley-tribes. Con- 631
sequently we need not look beyond the tribe, for any *larger group* 648

gouvernment des autres," (p. 16). "Chaque souverain confirmait l' election de ses vasseaux, car, ainsi qu' on l' a déjà dit, leur juridiction était indépendante pour les affaires civiles et criminelles."

Fray Toribio de Motolinia, "*Historia de los Indios de Nueva España*," in Vol. I, of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos, etc." (Epistola proemial, p. 5). "Despues el señorio de Tetzcoco fué tan grande como el de México." (Id. p. 11) "Los de Tetzcoco, que en antigüedad y señorio no son menos que los Mexicanos." (Tratado III, Cap. VII, p. 182) "Esta cindad de Tetzcoco era la segunda cosa principal de la tierra, y asimismo el señor de ella era el segundo señor de la tierra; sujetaba debajo de si quince provincias hasta la provincia de Tuzapan, que está á la costa del Mar del Norte. . . . . . á la parte de Oriente tiene México Tenuchtitlan á una legua la ciudad ó pueblo de Tlacopan, adonde residia el *tercero* señor de la tierra, al cual estaban sujetas diez provincias: estos dos señores ya dichos se podrian bien llamar reyes, porque no les faltaba nada para lo ser. (p. 183) "Las de las provincias y principales pueblos eran como señores de ditado ó salva, y sobre todos eran los mas principales los dos, el de Tetzcoco y el de Tlacopan; y estos con todos los otros todo lo mas del tiempo residian en México, y tenian corte á Moteuczoma." We know, however, that the fact of *residence* of the head-war-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan at Mexico, is not true, though their frequent visits there on military business, and their protracted stay after the Spaniards had entered the pueblo, may explain the error. The latter passage is amended by the good father (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187), as follows: "y si de esto algun señor tenia exencion era el de Tetzcoco."

Fernando Cortés, Carta Segunda, (In *Vedia's* "*Historiadores primitivos, etc.*" Vol. I, p. 29). Speaking of Cacamatzin, he says: "é segun lo que despues dél supe, era él muy cercano deudo de Muteczuma, y tenia su señorio junto al del dicho Muteczuma; cuyo nombre era Haculuacan." Cortés further relates that when Cacamatzin threatened to take up arms, he requested Montezuma to direct him to come to Mexico, but the chieftain of Tezcuco refused, saying, "that if they wanted something of him, they might come over on his land, where they would find out who he was, and what kind of obedience he was held to." Montezuma even was afraid, upon this reply, to suggest open violence, dissuading Cortés from it altogether. This shows clearly that the Mexicans had no authority over the Tezcucans, and even were loth to assail them.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara. Conquista de Méjico (In Vedia, Tom. I, p. 346). "Habia asimesmo otros muchos señores y reyes, como los de Tezcuco y Tlacopan, que no le debian nada, sino la obediencia y homenaje." Also, on the treacherous seizure of Cacamatzin, he confirms Cortés (p. 355), "La prision de Cacama, rey de Tezcuco." (Id. p. 433), "a Chimapopoca sucedió el otra su hermano, dicho Izcoua. Este Izcoua señoréo á Azcapuzalco, Cuanhnau, Chalco, Couatlichan y Huexocinco, mas tuvo por accompañados en el gobierno á Nezaualcoyocin, señor de Tezcuco, y al señor de Tlacopan, y de aqui adelante mandaron y gobernaron estos tres señores cuantos reinos y pueblos obedecian y tributaban á los de Culúa; bien que el principal y el mayor dellos era el rey de Méjico, el segundo el de Tezcuco, y el menor el de Tlacopan."

Bernal Diez de Castillo. Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España. (Vedia, Vol. II, Cap. C. p. 100.) "Como el Cacamatzin, señor de la ciudad de Tezcuco que despues de Méjico era la mayor y mas principal ciudad que hay en la Nueva España." Also on the seizure of Cacamatzin, confirmatory of Cortés and of Gomara (pp. 101 and 102).

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés. Historia natural y general de Indias. Madrid, 1853 (Lib. XXXIII, cap. VIII, pp. 294 and 296). The entire chapter is devoted to the seizure of Cacamatzin, and is almost a verbal copy of the report made by Cortés, (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LII, p. 519). It contains a letter written to Oviedo, by the vice-roy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, under date of 6 October, 1541, in which this functionary says: "Y lo de aqui no es tan poco que no podays hacer libro dello, é no será pequeño; porque aunque Monteçuma é México es lo que entre nosotros ha sonado,

631 of social organization. The confederacy of tribes, as we have
648 already shown, carried no influence whatever on the organization.

no era menor señor el Caconci de Mechuacan, y otros que reconoscian al uno ni al otro." We quote this passage merely as a general illustration.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva-España, published by Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, in 1829 (Vol. II. lib. VIII. cap. III. p. 276), "El cuarto señor de Tezcoco se llamó Netzahoalcoiotzin, y reinó setenta y un años, y en tiempo de esto se comenzaron las guerras, y tuvo el señorio de Tezcoco siendo señor del de México Itzcoatzin, y estos entrambos hicieron guerra á los de Tecpaneca, de Atzcaptzalco, y á otros pueblos y provincias, y el fué fundador del señorio de Tezcoco in Aculhoacan." (Id. Vol. III. lib XII. cap. XLI, page 59, close of chapter.)

Fray Diego Durán. Historia de las Yndias de Nueva España é Islas de Tierra Firme. Published by Sr. José Fernandez Ramirez at Mexico, in 1867, (Cap. XIV, p. 123). "El rey Itzcoatl, aunque mal dispuesto, holgó de la victoria y dió las gracias á todos los señores y principales, al qual, agrauándosele la enfermedad, entendiendo de se acertarsçle la muerte, mandó llamar al Señor de Tezcuco, Neçaualcoyotl, pariente cercano suyo, y aconsejóle que no tuviese guerra con los Mexicanos, sus parientes y amigos, sino que antes se hiciese con ellos y fuese en su favor siempre: y dexó ordenado que desde en adelante fuese de Tezcuco el segundo rey de la comarca y el tercero el de Tacuba, á quien llamauan el rey de Tlaluacpan. . . ." (p. 124). ". . . y solo estos tres reynos mandaron y governaron la tierra, de hoy en adelante, siendo el de México sobre todos ellos, y casi como emperador y monarca del nueuo mundo." Nearly the whole of Cap. XV is devoted to the formation of the confederacy, but cannot be inserted here. The editor, Sr. J. F. Ramirez, appears to incline to the opinion, however, that there was a confederacy on equal terms, (note 2, p. 130). The same author also
[796] states repeatedly that the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan sacrificed (slaughtered) captives at the chief teo-calli of Mexico, on very solemn occasions, together with the head-chief of Mexico, thus showing equal rights. (Cap. XXIII, p. 197 and others.) But his plainest statement is found (Cap. XLIII, p. 347), and reads as follows: "Algunos han querido decir quel reyno de Tezcuco era libre de todo reconocimiento y parias al monarca, y que en nada le era sujeto, lo qual allo al contrario en esta ystoria Mexicana; porque auuque á la verdad no tributauan á Mexico mantas ni joias ni plumas ni cosas de comida, como otras provincias tributauan, hallo empero á los Mexicanos metidos en las tierras tezcucanas donde sembraban y cogian, y algunos dellos hechos terrazgueros de los señores de México; y allo que en ofréciéndose estas fiestas y solenbidades, daban tributo desclauos para ella, de lo qual ninguno estaua esento ni reservado. Tambien allo que ofréciéndose dar guerra á alguna ciudad y provincia, al primero que llamauan y acudian para que apercibiese sus gentes, era al rey de Tezcuco, y como abemos, notado en esta ystoria, le hacian venir á Mexico todas las veces que se ofrecia ocasion, loqual no era poca sujecion, dado que tuviese sus préeminencias y libertades de rey y señor de aquella provincia de Aculuacan; . . . ."

Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc. Crónica Mexicana. (9th Vol. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") This author agrees so closely with Durán in most instances, that we can dispense with full quotations. See Cap. XIX and XX, on the pretended conquest of Tezcuco by the Mexicans. Tezozomoc is very positive on the question of joint sacrifice (Cap. LXIX, p. 117). A singular remark is, however, found (Cap. XCVII. p. 172). After the Huexotzincas had sent delegates to Mexico to sue for
[728] peace, the Mexican council was called together: "dijo zihuacoatl resoluto: Senor, como será esto, si no lo saben vuestros consegeros de guerra los reyes de Aculhuacan-Nezahualpilli. y el de Tecpanecas Tlaltecatzin? hagase entero cabildo y acuerdo: fue acordado asi." This important incident shows that not even the Mexicans had the right to treat alone with a power hostile to the three tribes, consequently that the other two were their *confederates*, and *not their feudal vassals*. Fray Durán confirms the incident in chapter LX, p. 478, of his work, precedingly quoted.

Joseph de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias, Madrid, 1608, derives his information from the same source as the two preceding, namely: the Codex Rami

it was only a partnership, formed for the purpose of carrying on 631
the business of warfare, and that intended not for the extension of 648

res, now in process of publication at Mexico. Acosta mentions and describes (Lib. VII, Cap. XV, p. 490). the traditionary war between the Mexicans and Tezcucans concluding: "Con esto quedó el Rey de Mexico por supremo Rey de Tezcuco, y no quitandoles su Rey, sino haziendole del supremo Consejo suyo." (Cap. XVI, p. 490.) Both chiefs, of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, are mentioned by him as "electors" of the Mexican head-chiefs.

Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo and President of the Royal Audiencia at Mexico. "*Lettre . . . à sa majesté Charles V*," translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Premier Recueil de Piéces relatives à la Nouvelle-Espagne," and bearing date 3 Nov., 1532 (p. 251). "Les souverains de Tezcoco, de Tacuba, qui étaient trés puissants dans cette contrée, agissaient de méme que Mutizuma. Ils partageaient entre eux et ce souverain le fruit de leurs conquêtes; cependant les souverains de Mexico étaient les plus puissants, et ils eurent toujours une plus grande différence." The same words about are repeated in the "*Second Recueil*," printed 1840, (the first "Recueil" appeared in 1838), on p. 222. The Report is therein stated to be by the President *and* the Audiencia.

"*Lettre des Chapelains Frére Toribio et Frére Diego D'Olarte à Don Luis de Velasco* etc.," date: St. François de Cholula, 27 Août, 1554. (Ternaux, "Recueil," 1, p. 403), "Toutes les autres obéissaient à Montezuma, au souverain de Tezcuco, et à celui de Tlacopa. Ces trois princes étaient étroitement confédérés; ils partageaient entre eux tous les pays qu'ils subjuguaient. Montezuma éxerçait la toute-puissance dans les affaires relatives à la guerre et au gouvernment de la confédération."

Fray Géronimo de Mendieta. "*Historia ecclesiastica Indiana*," published by Icazbalceta in 1870. After having mentioned (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129) that the chiefs of Mexico and Tezcuco sent challenges to foreign tribes to recognize "the chief of Mexico" as their superior, and to give him tribute, he says (Cap. XXVIII, p. 134), "Es de saber que los señores de México, Tezcuco y Tacuba, como reyes y señores supremos de esta tierra. . . . ." (Cap. XXXVII, p. 156.) "Los señores de las provincias ó pueblos que inmediatamente eran subjetos á Mexico, iban luego alli á ser confirmados en sus señorias, despues que los principales de sus provincias los habian elegido, y con algunos. . . . . En los pueblos y provincias que inmediatamente eran subjetos á Tezcuco y á Tacuba tenian recurso por la confirmacion á sus señores; *que en esto y otras cosas estos dos señores no reconocian superior*." Italics are my own.

Antonio de Herrera. "*Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra-Firme del mar Oceano*." 1726, Madrid. (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XII, p. 190). He almost copies Gomara, and in regard to the seizure of Cacamatzin he not only confirms Cortés, Gomara, and Bernal Diez, but is much more detailed and positive yet. (Dec. II, lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 217, 218.) Finally he asserts: (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV. p. 133), "Con Mexico estaban confederados los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que aora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que ganaban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante á la guerra, i tenian algunos Pueblos comunes en sucesion, asi de los Señorios, como de los Maiorazgos, i haciendas."

We now turn to an author who plainly takes an opposite view of the question, claiming, in place of a *Mexican* "Empire," the supremacy for the *Tezcucans*, or an ancient "Empire" of the Chichimecas. The latter claim has already been discussed in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 394, note 10). This assumption,—which strongly combats the view that there was anything at all like an Empire, while it implies the existence of a mere confederacy.—is set forth by the following well known Tezcucan native author.

Fernando de Alba Ixtlilxochitl. "*Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens Rois de Tezcuco*." This is the french translation of the original "Historia de los Chichimecos, etc., etc.," contained in Lord Kingsborough's 9th volume. Since abstracts might prove too lengthy, I merely refer to (Cap. XXXII), on the formation of the confederacy as containing some very plain and remarkable passages (pp. 218, 219, and 220), among

631 territorial ownership, but only for an increase of the means of sub-
648 sistence.[6]

which is one: "ces trois dynasties gouvernaient la Nouvelle-Espagne jusquà l'arrivée des chrétiens. Cependant, quoiqu'elles fussent égales en rang, en puissance et en revenu il y avait de certains tributs dont le roi de Tlacopan ne recevait qu'un cinquiéme, tandis que ceux de Mexico et de Tezcuco en recevaient chacun deux." See also (Cap. XXXIV, cap. XXXVI, pp. 245 and 246; cap. XXXVIII, pp. 269 and 273; 2d vol., Cap. LXXI, pp. 109 and 110), and others. Nevertheless, Ixtlilxochitl reproaches bitterly Montezuma with having usurped the leading power which belonged to the Texcucans (according to him), and having taken the direction of the confederacy into his hands. (Cap. LXXV, p. 128, to XXVI, p. 122, etc.). These charges are violently repeated in his other and more extensive work: "*Relaciones historicas.*" Also in Vol. IX of Lord Kinsborough. As a specimen, I refer to the 'Venida de los Españoles" translated also by Mr. Ternaux under the title of "*Cruautés horribles des conquérants du Mexique.*" In regard to the war between Tezcuco and Mexico, in which he, of course, attributes the fullest victory to the former see also "*Undécima Relacion*" (Kingsborough, IX, pp. 407 and 408). Ixtlilxochitl is seconded and followed by his illustrious contemporary. *Fray Juan de Torquemada.* "*Los veinteiun Libros Rituales i monarchia Indiana*, etc., etc.' Edition of 1723. This distinguished ecclesiastic is such a consistent advocate of feudalism, that he even assigns the division of Tenochtitlan into four quarters to an "edict" of the "Chichimecan Emperor" Techotlalatzin (Lib. II, cap. VIII, pp. 88 and 89), or to an order of Mexican "Lords" (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295). Still he is very plain about Tezcuco being equal and not subject to Mexico. Compare for instance (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 304), "nunca perdió su antigua estimacion, y siempre tuvo Rei, y Señor legitimo, que la regia, y governaba, y era igual con el de Mexico," (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 144), about the confederacy; (Cap. XI, p. 146). About the pretended war between the two tribes (Cap. XLII, p. 149. "Y no solo no es verdad; pero es directamente contra ella." On the supposed intrigues of Montezuma against the Tezcucans (Lib. II, caps. LXXXIII, LXXXIV, etc., etc.), until the first passage of Cap. LXXXVII, (p. 227), "muerto el Rei Neçahualpilli de Tetzcuco. y entrando en su lugar su Hijo Cacama . . . . . corrió la confederacion de los Reies, como hasta entonces lo avian acostumbrado . . . ." also (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 353), " . . . . no deja de ser su igual, y semejante el de Tetzcuco . . . . ." (Cap. XXVII, p. 356; cap. XXVIII, p. 361.) Copy of Mendieta. About warfare of the Confederates (Lib. XII, cap. VI, p. 382; Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 533; Cap. II, p. 537). *Division of Spoils and of Tributes Idem.* (cap. VIII, pp. 546, 547 and 548), "porque cierto es asi, que el Rei de Mexico no era maior en Autoridad, que el de Tetzcuco . . . . ." From these, but especially from Torquemada's history of the conquest, which occupies the entire fourth Book (Vol. I), enough can be gathered to show that this cumbrous but important authority admits no Mexican Empire, but only a confederacy of Mexicans, Tezcucans, and Tlacopans.

Fray Agustin de Vetancurt, "*Teatro Mexicano*," (Edition of 1870), admits the supremacy of the Mexicans (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XIV, p. 291), "y remataron la fiesta que dando Izcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que nezahualcoyotl, y este por rey de los aculhuas, y al de Tacuba le hicieron rey de la parte de mazahuacan, etc. . . . . . ". But the confederacy "liga," of the three chiefs is acknowledged everywhere. (Also Trat. II°, cap. III, p. 322), " cuando los Mexicanos, los tezcocanos ó de Tlacopan (que eran los reyes que estaban confederados para las guerras, etc. . . . ."

To this lengthy collection of quotations many others might be added, from the same period as well as of a later date. They appear to justify the proposition advanced, namely: none of the confederates exercised any power over the others, beyond that of *exclusively military* leadership, which had been awarded to the Mexicans proper.

The conquerors never interfered with the government, organization, and mode of life of tribes whom they had overpowered. No attempt, either direct or implied, was made to assimilate or incorporate them.

My friend *Dr. G. Brühl*, author of the highly interesting and conscientious work

Our investigations are therefore confined to the limits of the 128
single tribe, and we have selected for that purpose the Mexicans

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"*Die Culturvoelker des alten Amerika*" (Cincinnati, 1876, '77, '78), has, in regard to the 631
statements made in "*Art of War*" (p. 100, note 17; p. 133, note 152), and in "*Tenure of* 648
Lands" (pp. 412 and 413, also note 56; pp. 417 and 418, also note 69), called my attention to a passage from *Sahagun*, "*Historia general*" (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313), "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados, para que cada un año los diesen al señor que les habia conquistado, y el tributo era de lo que en ella se criaba y se hacia, y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." The author himself, however, gives the explanation of what he intends to designate by such "governors and officials who should preside in said province." In his 12th Book, (Cap. II, p. 5, Vol. III), he says: "La primera vez que parecieron navios en la costa de esta Nueva-España, los capitanes de Moctheuzoma que se llamaban *Calpixques* que estaban cerca de la costa luego fueron á ver que era aquello que vino, que nunca habian visto navios, uno de los cuales fue el calpixque de Cuextecatl que se llamaba Pinotl: llevaba consigo otros calpixques uno que se llamaba Yaotzin, que residia en el pueblo de Mictlanquauhtla, y otro que se llamaba Teozinzocatl, que residia en el pueblo de Teociniocan, y otro que se llamaba Cuitlalpitoc, este no era calpixque sino criado de uno de estos calpixques, y principalejo que se llamaba Tentlil." In this Sahagun about agrees with *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*, Cap. CVI, CVII, CVIII, CIX), inasmuch as the latter also states the officers to have been calpixques, th. is, "Stewards" or *gatherers of tribute.* Compare *Alonzo de Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," (Parte IIa, p. 12.)

The names of these Indians who received Cortés are found nearly alike in all the authors, but we are struck by the fact that many of them call the natives "governors" of Montezuma. I quote *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 32 and 33, Vedia, Vol. II) *Gomara* (pp. 312, 313, 314, etc., Vedia I). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. LXXIX, p. 100). "*Cruautés horribles*," (p. 3.) *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 116; Cap. V, p. 117). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 387; Cap. XVII, p. 389, etc.). *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, cap. IV, p. 43). *Fray Joseph Joaquin Granados y Galvez*, ("*Tardes Americanas*" Mexico, 1778, 9th evening, p. 234). *Abbate F. X. Clavigero* ("*Geschichte von Mexico*," Leipzig, 1790, a german translation of the Italian original which appeared at Cesena in 1780. Vol. II, Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 16). These *governors* therefore were but "calpixques," in other words *collectors of tribute.* This is already stated by *Oviedo y Valdés* (Vol. III, Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 250), speaking of Cempoal, "porque los indios è ministros, que alli estaban para mandarlos, eran oficiales è mayordomos de la cibdad de México." The "*Real Ejecutoria de S. M., Sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga perteneciente á los Caciques de Axapusco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba*," (Col. de Doc's, Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 5), calls all the Indians in question "enviados por el gran Montezuma."

This explains the evident contradictions of Sahagun.

It is a singular fact, but one amply proven by the records of the conquest, that no- 631
where did the Spaniards, on their whole march from the coast to Mexico, meet with 636
Mexican *administrators* or *rulers* of subjected tribes. Quotations are useless, we only 648
refer to the remarkable description furnished by Bernal Diez of the events at Quiahuiztlan (Vedia II, Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41), which culminated in the violence done to the "recaudadores de Montezuma." This scene, which is highly characteristic, has been beautifully "remodeled," through a few omissions, by our own great *W. H. Prescott* ("*History of the conquest of Mexico*," 1869, Book II, chap. VII, p. 349). There is, finally, abundant proof of the fact that neither the Mexicans, nor any of their confederates, ever attempted to change or subvert the organization and mode of government of any of the tribes whom they overthrew. I refer to *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 502). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 547). *Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques*, (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 274). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista*

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

128 proper, who dwelt, as elsewhere established by us, on the partly artificial islands in the lagune of the Mexican valley.[7] Besides the prominence acquired by them in the annals of history, it may safely be assumed that, in a general manner, their Institutions are typical of those of other sedentary tribes.[8]

121 *Tribal* society, based according to Lewis H. Morgan upon KIN, and not *political* society which rests, according to the same author, upon TERRITORY and PROPERTY, must therefore be looked for among the ancient Mexicans. It remains for us to establish its degree of development, its details, and the manner of its working.

In order to comprehend the true nature of these questions, we should secure as much information as possible of the *past* of the tribe under consideration. Institutions are never wilfully or accidentally created, but evolved; in other words, they are the result of growth in knowledge and experience.[9] The great difference existing between tribal society and political is explained as a dif-

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631 636 240 *de México,*" Col. de Doc., Vol. II, Icazbalceta, p. 561, and especially p. 562), "México tenia en su tiempo en el hacer guerra esta órden; que yendo á la guerra, al que se daba de paz no tenia sobre él tributo cierto, sino que tantas veces en el año lo llevaban presente á su discrecion del que lo llevaba; pero si era poco mostrábales mal rostro, y si mucho agradeciaselo. Y en estos no ponia mayordomo ni recaudador ni cosa; el señor se era señor. Los que tomaba de guerra decian *tequitin tlacotl*, que quiere decir, tributan come esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los Señores mandaban su gente, eran debajo de la mano destos de México . . . . ." *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 165), *Granados y Galvez.* (5th night, p. 168), a singular picture of purest feudality, for which Gomara may be responsible in part. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Letter of 4th Nov.*, 1532, 1st; "*Recueil,*" (pp. 245, 246, and 247). *Zurita* "*Rapport,*" (p. 16), to be compared with Mendieta and Torquemada.

Consequently there was no tendency towards unification or nationalization in all the successful and extensive raids which the Nahuatlaca of the valley of Mexico carried on for a full century. No organic body, larger than the tribe, resulted from these sanguinary forays; because the confederacy itself was not the end, but the beginning of these undertakings. This justifies the view which I shall hereafter advocate in regard to the nature of that confederacy namely: as a mere partnership to carry on the business of warfare the latter in turn being part of the mode of subsistence.

[5] "Based upon territory and property" according to L. H. Morgan, in contra-distinction to tribal-society, based upon "Kin." ("*Ancient Society,*" chapter II, page 62).

[6] "*Art of War,*" p. 96.

[7] "*Art of War,*" p. 150. "*Tenure of Lands,*" pp. 421, 422.

[8] "*Ixtlilxochitl* (*Histoire des Chichimèques,*" Cap. XXXVI, p. 245). "Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit de Tezcuco doit s'entendre aussi des deux autres, ..." *Gomara* (p. 440, Vedia, I). "To speak of the Mexicans, signifies as much as speaking of all New Spain." The title of the section is: "Costumbres de los hombres," and the original text reads: "Hablando de méjicanos, es hablar en general de toda la Nueva-España." Although *Zurita* (p. 5) insists upon the variety of customs among the aborigines,—changing from settlement to settlement, from tribe to tribe,—his own report furnishes the proof of the contrary, and it is evident from the text that he alludes principally to the diversity in languages and dialects.

[9] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society,*" Chap. I, p. 6).

while their last vestiges were perpetuated until after 1690, when 174
Fray Augustin de Vetancurt mentions four chief quarters with 618
their original Indian names, comprising and subdivided into *twenty*
"barrios." Now the Spanish word "Barrio" is equivalent to
the Mexican term "calpulli." Both indicate the kin, localized
and settled with the view to permanence.[55]

What is often conceived as the establishment of a vast feudal 174
monarchy at the time just treated of, resolves itself therefore
into two very plain features. One of these consists in the establishment of the confederacy, the other is but the appearance in broad daylight of the peculiar organization of aboriginal society among the Mexicans. Thus we have no sudden change of base, no revolution in the institutions of the tribe; the only progress achieved consisted in the extension of inter-tribal relations and
in their assuming the shape of a military partnership. 174

The year 1473 witnessed another event which seemed to affect 648

All these titles were permanent, though not hereditary, as it is plainly seen in the 565
case of the four leaders of the four "phratries" about which *Sahagun* says: (Lib. 618
VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318) "The chief elected, forthwith they elected others four which were like senators that always had to be by his side . . . . (these four had different names in different places) . . . ." *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103). "To these four lords and titularies, after they were elected princes, they made them of the royal council, like presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion nothing should be done. When the king died, his successor had to be taken from those, neither could any others but brothers or sons of kings be clothed with these dignities. Thus if one of these was elected, they put another in his place. We must know that they never put a son of him who had been elected ("King") or of the deceased, since, as it has been said, the sons never succeeded (in office) by inheritance, to the titles or lordships, but through election. Therefore, whether son, brother, or cousin, if elected by the king and those of his council, to that dignity, it was given to him,—it being sufficient his being of that lineage and near relative, and so the sons and brothers went on inheriting gradually, little by little . . . . and the title and lordship never went outside of that descendancy ("generation" also kin), being filled by election, little by little."

The other titles are frequently met with up to the time of the conquest, as a few in- [648]
stances will abundantly prove. Assuming, with the majority of authors, the date of 1431, for that of the formation of the confederacy, we meet, during the unlucky foray of the confederates against Michhuacan, about fifty years later, with the following war-chiefs of the Mexicans. Tezcacoatl, Huitznahuacatl, and Quetzaltocatl (*Tezozomoc*, Cap. LII, pp. 84 and 85), also Coatecatl (Cuauhtecatl). At the time of Cortés' first arrival off the coast (1519) we meet in the council of Mexico with Huitznahuacatl, Hueycamecatl (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. XIII, p. 379). Finally when, after the resistance of the Mexicans had ceased, Cortés assembled all the chiefs in his presence, we again meet with Huitznahuatl, Mexicatltecuhtli, Teuctlamacazqui (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571). Evidence of this kind could be produced in profusion, but it would only increase unnecessarily the size of this annotation. Compare the titles of the Iroquois sachemships in *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. V, pp. 130 and 131).

[55] Compare note 53. Also *Molina* (Parte I, p. 18), and others.

174 648 the Mexican tribe in a more direct manner. It was the overthrow and capture, after a short but bloody struggle, of the pueblo of Tlatilulco.[56] Owing to the close connection of the latter with the Mexicans both had remained on a non-hostile footing; for the suspicious watchfulness with which each viewed the other did not comport with any more intimate relations, those of trade and exchange excepted. When the confederacy came into existence, Tlatilulco was counted in as a part of Mexico, since its people acknowledged themselves to be Mexicans; but there is no evidence authorizing the conclusion that the Tlatilulca played any other role, beyond that of auxiliaries to their kindred of Tenuchtitlan.[57] The rash attempt of the former at the organization of a conspiracy to become "Mexico alone" terminated fatally; their place was taken and barbarously sacked, their leaders were killed in the fray or sacrificed afterwards, and the Mexicans, exasperated at the conduct of their treacherous kinsmen treated them in an unusually severe manner. We have seen already that, in any conquest, the conquered tribe, if not exterminated, was only subjected to more or [562] less heavy tribute. But the Tlatilulca were dealt with far worse: they were degraded to the rank of "*women*," their public market 174 was ordered closed, their council-house left to decay and their 648 young men, expressly debarred from the privilege of carrying 727 arms in aid of the Mexicans, were required to become the carriers of supplies to their captors. Such a punishment was unknown in the annals of Indian conquest, and appears even to militate against our views of aboriginal society in Mexico; still it was in perfect harmony with the institutions of the latter. The Tlatilulca were, as we should never forget, not only a tribe

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[56] The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Plate XIV, also explanation Vol. VI, p. 138), concurs in this date, or the year seven "calli" which is indeed 1473.

[57] This acknowledgment—"to be Mexicans"—on the part of the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, was in the nature of a *claim*, and with a spirit of jealousy and envy. Although *Durán* says (Cap. XXXII, p. 257), "auiendo estado hasta entonces sujetos á la corona real de Méjico," this affirmation is utterly disproven, not only by all the other sources, but by his own statements (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 46). The confused and contradictory tales about the state of war preceding the formation of the confederacy still make the Tlatilulca always appear as assisting their neighbors of Tenuchtitlan, more or less. Sometimes they were neutral only, and at times they may have felt inclined to foster attempts at destruction of their rivals by outsiders, but they still were afraid of the consequences of it for their own independence. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 46). The singular statement that the Tlatilulca even attempted, though fruitlessly, to withdraw the Tezcucans and Tlacopans from Tenuchtitlan, inducing them to become their associates in the work of its overthrew, is significant. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LVIII, p. 176) "Quisose aliar con los de Tlacupa, y Tetzcuco, los quales no le acudieron."

connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexi- 174
cans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punish- 648
ment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and 727
tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement how- [558]
ever, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

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[58] The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("*Idea*" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Européo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos i Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos teuvieron grandes diferencias: é Monteçuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeodar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, désterrólos de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los quel quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de alli, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mezquique, é que le sirviressen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Monteçuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis [441]
(market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatiluco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. 1, pp. 335 and 336).

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features 175
different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is 643
not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are re- 642
ferred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

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seis parcialidades. que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and [142
we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more.
The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parci- 616]
alidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *kins*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X, p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 551, 552), Yacocalco (p. 552), Tlacuchcalco (p. 552), Amazac, Coyonacazco (p. 552). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 552), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI, p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, pp. 498, 499). *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 131). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 158).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of
Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 550) [648]
and *Vetancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 193) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron à la tierra no les dejaron tornar à libertad ninguna, ni à tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (9th Edition, 1800, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man 441
who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or
slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this
title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar
circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men 439
gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the 441
market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products 648
for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of 441
Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The recep- 527
tion was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

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vendes comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 58, etc.), 441
"oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 69). In general, nearly
all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of 439
their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 383 and 384, cap. XII). 437

[75] *Molina* ("*Vocabulario*" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tlanamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 127, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[76] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicaquitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 373, etc.), calls them also: "naoaloztomeca," literally "peddlars of the Nahuatl." *Molina* (II, p. 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond 441
the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the 556
achievements.[78] 565

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[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 56), that the Tlatilulca were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II), and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlailotlac, ó acxôtecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not *one chief* of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 566), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que habia de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 223, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 336 and 337), that the merchants had their own juriadiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: "y los señores mercaderes, que regian á los otros, tenian por su juriedicion y judicatória, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por si; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 339–342), [651 how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands 648] quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 56. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

642 We have already stated that the tribe was a voluntary association of kins for mutual protection. Though this was undoubtedly the original purpose, it becomes evident that, in course of time and as a result of success in warfare, the tribe, as a military organization, grew into a cluster for procuring and increasing subsistence.[288] This was achieved by gathering booty in successful raids, and by imposing tribute upon tribes whose military power had been overcome in such dashes and forays.

642 648 ● Previous to the formation of the confederacy, but few tribes had been conquered by the Mexicans.[289] In fact, it was the nearly equally balanced power of the Pueblos occupying the lake basin, that made the formation of that confederacy possible. Such a course was necessary to prevent them from destroying each other for the benefit of expectant neighbors.[290] But when once this confederacy was formed, then their joint efforts were directed to conquest, and to the acquisition of the means of subsistence through tribute. As the imposition of tribute was a military measure, so, also, its collection was in the hands of the *military* branch of the tribal government. This is evident from the fact that the kins had delegated to the tribe all authority over outside [643] matters.[291] Hence the "chief of men" became the official head of tribute-gatherers.[292]

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[288] "*Art of War*" (pp. 96, 97 and 98, also notes).

[289] The number and names of these tribes are yet undefined. The specifically *Mexican* sources insisting upon a *conquest* of Tezcuco (by force of arms) by the Mexicans, it follows that, according to the *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 51 to 61), the tribes subjected before that supposed event, were the Tecpaneca, the Xochimilca, and those of Cuitlahuac, or the settlements to the west and southwest. *Duran* (Cap. IX to XV) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. VIII to XX) concur; so does, of course, *Acosta* (Lib. VII. cap. XII to XV). The *Codex Mendoza* (plates V and VI) adds to the above the pueblos of Chalco, Acolhuacan and of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca). If we compare it with the *Tezcucan* tradition, as reported by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXI, p. 216) we notice that it is claimed for that tribe, that it assisted the Mexicans in the conquest of Xochimilco and Cuitlahuac, although the formal confederation took place (according to the same authority, Cap. XXXII) some years later. According to *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLII, pp. 148, etc.), *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XIV, p. 291), the Xochimilcas were conquered by the confederates. According to *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," Lib. III. cap. I, p. 150), the Tezcucans subjected Xochimilco. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. V, p. 255) agrees with the Mexican version.

[290] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 61).

[291] This resulted from the constitution of the tribe, as an association of kins for mutual protection and sustenance.

[651] [292] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X. p. 18): "y aunque envian á darlo á Ytzcoatl era para todos los Mexicanos en comun." The fact that the gathering of tribute was directly controlled by the "chief of men" is so generally admitted that it hardly needs any further proof. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Lettre*," etc., p. 248, 1er *Recueil*) ascribes the gathering of tribute to an officer whom he calls "tecuxcalcatectli." This should be, properly,

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16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Whenever any tribe, with or without a struggle, yielded to the warlike power of the Mexicans and their associates, the amount and kind of articles to be delivered, as tribute, at fixed periods, was at once determined between "the parties.[293] For the faithful performance of that contract, the vanquished stood in daily peril of their lives;[294] and in order to watch them constantly, and to regulate the delivery and transmission of the tribute, special officers were maintained among the conquered pueblos by their conquerors. These officers were called "gatherers of the crops," calpixqui. Each one of the three confederates sent its own "calpixqui" among the tribes which had become its exclusive prey, and where, as sometimes occurred, one pueblo paid tribute to all three confederates, it had to submit to the residence in its midst, of as many representative gatherers of duties.[295] 648 651

"tlacochcalcatl-tecuhtli." But we know that the duties of the latter officer were quite different. Still, the collection of tribute being a branch of military life, the mistake is easily accounted for. The military chronicles of the Mexican tribe teem with instances where the stewards are described as under direct orders of the "chief of men," as in *Zurita* (pp. 68, 69, 70). It may also be inferred from the exaggerated statements about the tribute system among the Tezcucans, contained in *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV, pp. 239-241). [643 651]

[293] I refer to the following passages of *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. IX, p. 16, Capture of Azcaputzalco; Cap. XV, p 24, Cuyuacan; XVII, p. 28, Xochimilco; XVIII, p. 29, Cuitlahuac; XXVI, p. 40, Chalco; XXVII, p. 41, Tepeacac and Tecamachalco; XXIX, pp. 44 and 45, Tzicoac and Tucpan; XXXII, p. 50, Ahuilizapan, and the Totonaca; XXXVIII, p. 58, Coayxtlahuacan; XXXVIII, p. 61, Huaxaca; Cap. LXI, p. 108, Chiapan and Xilotepec; Cap. LXV, p. 110, Cuextlan; Cap. LXXII, p. 122; Teloloapan; LXXVI, p. 130, Tecuantepec and others; LXXIX, p. 136, Xoconuchco; LXXXIV, p. 148, Nopallan; LXXXVIII, Xaltepec; XCI, p. 159, Quetzaltepec). *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 77; X, p. 86; XII, p. 112; XVII, p. 151; XVIII, p. 159; XIX, p. 171; XXI, p. 169; XXII, p. 191; XXIV, p. 205; XXXIV, p. 269; XLI, p. 321; XLVI, p. 373, etc.). These passages fully illustrate the manner in which the tribute was imposed on the vanquished, at the close of a successful foray. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 271 to 273). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 318): "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados. . . ."

[294] *Durán* (Cap. LIII, p. 423). Also the complaints of the Indians of Cempohual and Quiahuiztlan (Totonacos) (on the coast), to Cortés, about the dread in which they continually stood of being overrun again by the Mexicans and their confederates. (*Cortés* "*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I), *Bernal Díez* (Cap. XLV, p. 40; XLVI, p. 41, Vedia II), "*Real Ejecutoria, etc.*" (Col. de Doc's II, p. 12).

[295] This results from the "articles of agreement" of the confederacy. See besides: *Zurita* (p. 67). *Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotl* ("*Memorial dirigido al rey, etc.*" "*Geografía de las Lenguas*," *Orozco y Berra* pp. 244 and 245) also states: "The pueblos whose tributes were distributed among Mexico and Tezcuco and Tacuba were the following: Coayxtlavuacan, Cuauhtochco, Cotlaxtlan, Avilçapan, Tepeaca." Against this there stands the version of *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XLI, p. 39): "Luego alli habló otro principal que se llamaba Mixcoatlaylotlacanaltectzin, dijo al señor capitan, que cuando vivia Mocthecuzoma el estilo que se tenia en conquistar, era este, que iban los Mexicanos, y los Tezcucanos, y los de Tlacupan, y los de las Chinampas, todos

648 Thus the Mexicans had a number of such officers scattered 651 among tributary settlements. The "chief of men" controlled their actions, but his power did not extend over the "calpixca" of the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan. He could not even appoint the stewards sent to dwell among the tributary foreigners,[296] this power being vested in the council alone.[297] Such an office was by no means a post of honor and enjoyment. On the contrary, there was no more responsible or dangerous duty within or without the tribe. The "calpixqui" while he had not the slightest authority to meddle with the affairs of the tribe where he lived,[298] was expected to watch closely the dispositions and incli-

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juntos iban sobre el pueblo ó provincia que querian conquistar, y despues que lo habian conquistado, luego se volvian á sus casas, y á sus pueblos, y despues venian los señores de los pueblos que habian sido conquistados, y traian su tributo de oro y de piedras preciosas, y de plumages ricos, y todo lo daban à Mocthecuzoma, y asi todo el oro venia á su poder." This plain and very natural statement, from a Tlatilulcan chief who afterwards became "gobernador" of Tlatilulco (*Sahagun*, Lib. VIII, cap. II, p. 274), has been twisted by *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 573), so as to say among other things: "and they had the tributes gathered at Mexico, and here it was distributed among the three Lords according to the directions given by him of Mexico." *Torquemada* has, in this instance, evidently changed the text of his predecessor. There is also an undeniable confusion here between booty and tribute. The former had to be divided among the conquerors while they were yet together; the latter occurred regularly afterwards, and hence did not need to go through the hands of Mexicans again. The story of Torquemada is corroborated by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIX, p. 282), who clearly says that "Fasting Wolf" put stewards only when the tribute belonged to his tribe, but that the whole tribute was brought to Mexico and there "the agents of the three chiefs divided it among themselves. Finally, we have the obscure statements of *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (pp. 244, 247, in 1er Recueil of Mr. Ternaux).

[296] The "Calpixcayotl" was a permanent office, not a temporary duty or mission; consequently its incumbents could not be appointed by a single war-chief. There is evidence to that effect. According to *Duran* (Cap. XVIII, p. 164), after those of Tepeacac had been conquered, "Cihuacohuatl" placed a steward in their midst: "Mirá que en ello no aya falta ni quiebra; y para questo mejor se cumpla, os quiere poner un 643 gobernador de los señores Mexicanos, al qual aueis de obedecer y tener en lugar de la real persona, el qual se llama Coacuech, y con esto os podeis ir en norabuena á vuestras tierras y ciudades porque al rey no le podeis hablar." (Cap. XXI, pp. 166 and 167). The steward for Cuetlaxtlan was chosen by the "Snake-woman;" or at least his choice was proclaimed by that officer. (Cap. XXIII, p. 190): "Acauado el sacrificio y despedidos los güespedes, Tlacaelel, con consejo del rey, enuió un virey á Coaixtlavac para que tuviese cargo de aquella provincia y de los tributos reales, el qual se llamaua Cuanxochitl. . . . ."

[297] This results from the fact that the "Cihuacohuatl" announced the newly chosen "Calpixqui." In this case he plainly acted as *foreman of the council*, proclaiming their choice.

[298] I have already, in note 4, disposed of the statements of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." In further explanation thereof, I beg to call attention to some statements of the interpreters of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XX and XXI): "Los pueblos figurados en los dos planos siguientes, resumidos aqui, son diez y ocho pueblos, segun que están entitulados. Por

nations of those by whom he was surrounded and to report forth- 648
with any suspicious movements or utterances that came to his 651
notice. Thus he appeared, in the eyes of the people among whom he resided, as a spy, whose reports might, at any time, bring down upon them the wrath of their conquerors. Again, it was his duty to control the bringing in of the articles promised as tribute, at stated times. Consequently he was the hateful tax-gatherer, the living monument of their defeat with all its unfortu-

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los Señores de Mexico tenian puesto un gobernador llamado Petlacalcatl, aunque en cada un pueblo tenian puesto un Calpixque, que es como Mayordomo, que tenian à cargo de hacer recojer las rentas y tributos que los dichos Señores tributaban al Señorio de México y todos los dichos mayordomos acudian al dicho Petlacalcatl, como su governador;" (plates XXII and XXIII): " . . . . tenian puestos Calpixques, en cada uno de ellos, y en lo mas principal dominaba sobre todos ellos un governador, para que los mantubiese en paz y justicia, y les hiciese cumplir sus tributos y porque no se rebelasen;" (plates XXIV and XXV): "Y á que fuesen bien regidos y governados, los Señores de Mexico en cada uno de ellos tenian puestos Calpixques, y sobre todos los Calpixques un governador, persona principal de México, y ansi mismo los Calpixques eran Mexicanos, lo qual se hacia é probeya por los dichos Señores y á seguridad, para que no les rebelasen, y á que les administrasen justicia y oyesen en policia." It follows from the above that the "Governors" were placed, not so much over the tribes, as over the "calpixca" themselves, and indeed the "Petlacalcatl," "man of the house of chests," was the head-steward, to whom all the other stewards had to direct their consignments of tribute. Consequently, it is not to be understood as "governor of a province," but only "governor of the stewards," which is totally different.

Besides, there is positive evidence to the effect, that the Mexicans and their associates never interfered with the autonomy of tributary tribes. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. [illegible]): "Los que tomaba de guerra decian tequitin tlacotle, que quiere decir, tributan como esclavos. En estos ponia mayordomos y recogedores y recaudadores; y aunque los señores mandaban su gente, era debajo de la mano destos de México. . . . *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 66): "Les chefs, restant seigneurs comme avant la guerre, conservaient la juridiction civile et criminelle dans toute l'étendue de leurs domaines."

When the tribes of the gulf coast (the Totonacas, etc.) arose against the Mexicans, [669]
murdering the stewards who had been placed among them, they were speedily overcome again, and when they attributed their revolt to the intrigues of their head-chiefs, asking the Mexicans to punish them for it, the Mexicans replied, according to *Durán* (Cap. XXIV, p. 294): "nosotros no traemos autoridad para matar á nadie sino es en guerra: vuestros señores no han parecido en esta guerra ni los emos visto, pero no por eso se escaparán, pues vuestras razones y deseo y lo que pedis, se dirá al rey nuestro señor Montequma, y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado, y luego sin mas dilacion los traed aqui á todos ante nosotros y á muy buen recaudo." Afterwards: "enviaron á Cuauhnochtli y á Tlilancalqui, que eran de los mayores oydores del consejo supremo, para que executasen aquella justicia." The two chiefs were cruelly butchered (p. 296). This story is also related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV, pp. 55 and 56), and it is evidently the instance referred to and illustrated by the *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXVII). The foregoing tells us that even in a case of dangerous treachery and rebellion such as the above, the Mexicans did not claim the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the conquered tribe, of their own accord, but that it required the positive request of that tribe to cause them to act in the premises. Furthermore, the position of the "chief of men" as military executor is clearly defined: "y él mandará que se execute lo que nosotros dexaremos ordenado." A very important statement!

● 648 651 nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

648 651 202 [727] The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui" superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

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[299] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII, inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 535, 36 and 37), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques,*" Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 167 and 168) confining himself to the Tezcucans and their tributaries exclusively. *See furthermore*, *Zurita* (pp. 246, 247 and 248), *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 251). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 20 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 333 and 334): on *Matlaltzinco*, *Zurita* (pp. 394-397), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 63 and 65), and especially from the traditions on the forays and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 53, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.), *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues mirá que lo aveis de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que les placia de lo llevar allá y servillos, ..." (Cap. XXII, p. 181): "y que se obligasen á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 206, Cap. XXV, p. 215, etc., etc., etc.)

567 [302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 212 and 213). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another these prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of medicine subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda,*" p. 25, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "outcasts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é traianlos atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuezos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totonaca's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda,*" p. 15, Vedia I).

assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied 648
the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication 651
might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, 202
it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and
directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all 487
through the land roads should be opened which would be prac- 202
ticable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly 491
increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely 651
escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by 489
the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

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[303] "*Second Recueil de Pièces sur le Mexique*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 328) figures a bridge at Huejutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Metlaltoyuca shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 461): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere *runners*. ("Correos"—"Yciuhca titlantli" *Molina* I, p. 30, from "Iciuhca"—quick and "titlantli"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 32 and 113). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. *I*, pp. 535 and 536), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 68).

households,[314] still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the 647
hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and 651
thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.[315]
Over these stores the "Petlacalcatl" presided. This officer was,
in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was account- [212]
able in the first place to the "Cihuacohuatl," who kept a register
or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment.
These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise
to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of [217]
Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[316]

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,— not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,— and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society — the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is 648
superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the
three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

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[314] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 419 and 426).

[315] See the concurrent reports about the great drouth, while "Wrathy chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Montezuma Ilhuicamina") was "chief of men."

[316] This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.

● 648 to cast the heterogeneous elements into one uniform mould, because there was no idea of any form of society other than that based upon kin, and of this, the tribe, characterized by independent territory, a dialect of its own and a common name and worship, formed the highest governmental expression.

000 We have thus, involuntarily almost, retraced our steps to the point of departure and justified, as we believe, our original propositions. We have tried to show that there was, in aboriginal Mexico, neither state, nor nation, nor political society of any kind. We have found a population separated into tribes representing dialectical variations of speech, each tribe autonomons in matters of government, and occasionally forming confederacies for purposes of self-defence and conquest. Out of that confederacy, brought so prominently forward by the events of the Spanish conquest, we have selected on account of its military pre-eminence, one tribe,—the ancient Mexicans—and we have shown that it was an organic body composed of twenty autonomous kins for purposes of mutual protection and subsistence. A social organization resting upon such a foundation must, of necessity, have been a democratic body. Indeed, we have found that each kin was governed by strictly elective officers, subject to removal at the pleasure of their constituents; that the twenty kins, for their mutual benefit, had delegated their powers to transact business with outsiders to a council of the tribe, in which every kin was represented, by one member and consequently, had the same voice and vote as either one of the others. The execution of the decrees of this council was left to elective officers, whose power was limited to military command, and whom the tribe might depose at pleasure. With the exception of some very inferior positions, these officers had not the power of appointing others to office, not even their assistants of high rank. The dignity of chief, so commonly transformed into hereditary nobility, has been found to have been, merely, a reward of merit and carried with it no other prerogatives than personal consideration and occasional indulgence in finery. Taking all this together, and adding to it the results of our investigations into the military organization of the ancient Mexicans, as well as of their communal mode of holding and enjoying the soil, we feel authorized to conclude *that the social organization and mode of government of the ancient Mexicans was a military democracy, originally based upon communism in liviug.*